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FLASH-LIGHTS

OF THE AMSTERDAM CONGRESS

DANIEL DE LEON

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Flashlights of the Amsterdam Congress

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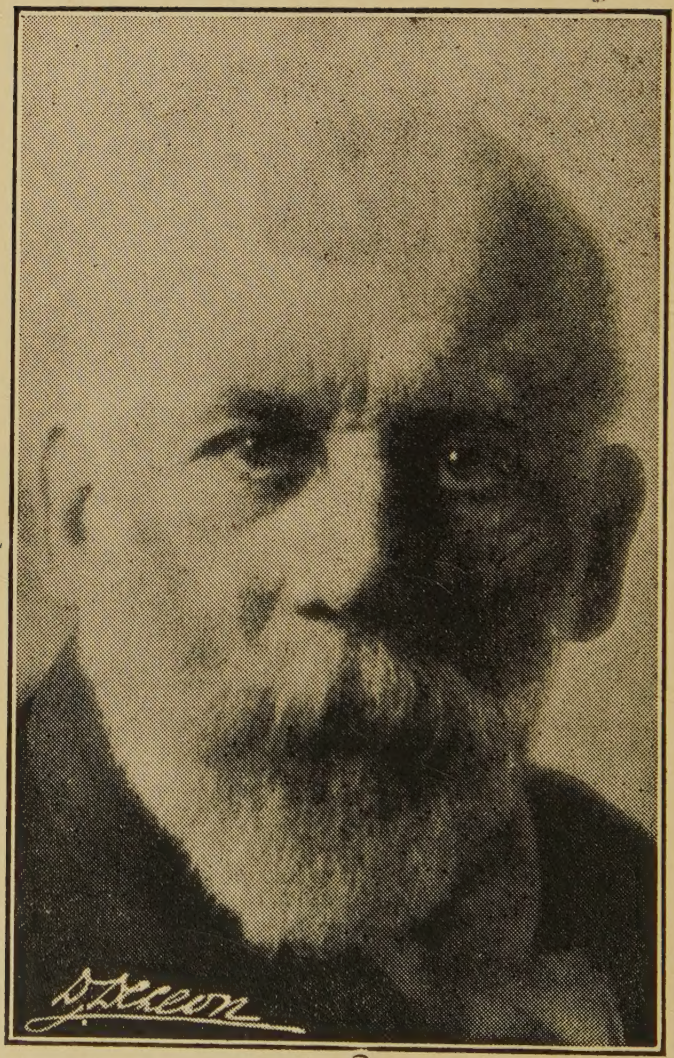

DANIEL DE LEON

FLASHLIGHTS
OF THE AMSTERDAM CONGRESS

DANIEL DE LEON

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PREFACE.

More than twenty years have passed since the Amsterdam Congress of the Socialist International, and more than a decade since the final collapse of that International with the outbreak of the World War. When the middle class and reform character of the so-called Socialist parties in Europe manifested itself in the bitter nationalism which produced the social patriot from the leaders of the European Social Democracies, to the million mass of workers throughout the world the flunk of the Socialist International, particularly the German Social Democracy, in August 1914, came as a severe shock, as something utterly unbelievable. In this country, the thousands of would-be Socialists, brought up and nourished on the sentimentalism and bluff of the Socialist party, who had been taught to look up to the German Social Democracy as the leader, as something gigantic and gigantically powerful, naturally felt horror-stricken, disgusted, and finally either totally lost faith in Socialism and humanity, or else became anarchists or physical force "communists," flopping over from sentimental pacifists to pro-militarists in a would-be working class sense. It was naturally a severe shock to realize that what had been dangled before their eyes as a great Socialist and proletarian organization was in fact nothing but a middle class reform body, subservient to German national

Underlined during Nixon-Kennedy "Great Debate"

ism and capitalism. The only Socialists—and in truth the *only Socialists*—that neither were thrown off their feet nor became discouraged by the earthquake which scuttled the Second International and most of the recognized Socialist organizations of the world during 1914-1920, were, outside of the Russian Bolsheviki, the members of the Socialist Labor Party of America.

The Socialist Labor Party was neither horrified nor overwhelmed by events because it was not taken unawares. For more than a decade it had recognized the hollowness of the Second International and it had seen the Socialist parties of Europe and their leaders becoming or preparing to become "ministerial Socialists," while the "cooperation of classes" was openly and ardently advocated and practiced, while the sound proletarian Socialist revolutionary organization was sneered at and the advocates of an all powerful revolutionary Industrial Union capable of furnishing the physical revolutionary force to back up the political right of the workers, was being ignored or laughed out of court. The Socialist Labor Party knew that the leaders who were nothing but middle class reformers with middle class hearts and middle class reform ideas in place of proletarian revolutionary thoughts, could in a crisis be expected to lead the workers nowhere but into the shambles of capitalism, particularly as the workers themselves were naturally no clearer than their leaders and were neither drilled nor were they drilling themselves in revolutionary thought and action.

The trend of the Second International was clear to the Socialist Labor Party of America already in 1900, when with the seating of the reformistic middle class Socialist party of America the Socialist Labor Party came within an inch of withdrawing from the councils of the Second International. But the Party remained when there manifested itself rather vigorously within the International an opposition led by the Parti Ouvrier Socialiste (the Socialist Labor Party of France, or the so-called Guesdists). The Socialist Labor Party joined that opposition, which proved itself strong enough to compel separate representations on the International Bureau and in the International Congress, with two separate delegations from each country, in the case of the United States one controlled by the Socialist Labor Party and the other by the Socialist party.

In 1904 Daniel De Leon, editor of the *Daily People* and the *Weekly People,* went to the Amsterdam International Socialist Congress as head of the delegation from the Socialist Labor Party of America. With traditional De Leon vigor and logic he laid bare the festering wound of the European movement—the co-operation of classes. But the movement would not submit to an operation, in fact considered itself hale and hearty and went its way smiling at the doctor. The most permanent and far-reaching result of De Leon's visit therefore was the now historic document, "Flashlights of the Amsterdam International Socialist Congress, 1904," in which he thoroughly exposed the raw

sores of the International to the world's gaze and gave those an opportunity to take warning who had intelligence and acumen enough to do so. De Leon's analysis of the infamous and utterly evil Kautsky resolution, his action thereon and his own substitute resolution, which received the vote of the Socialist Labor Party delegation alone, is a masterful expose ten years before the outbreak of the World War of the evil that eventually wrecked the Second International and the Socialist movement of Europe and left the entire continent in chaos after the Armistice, a chaos that continues to this very day. These "Flashlights" produced a complete picture of the looseness of organization of the Second International, the Babel of tongues and the worse Babel of ideas of the International Congress, the lack of order, the lack of definite tactics, the absence in short of any true revolutionary spirit.

The knowledge and understanding of the entire situation by the membership of the Socialist Labor Party had a remarkable steadying tendency at the time of the final catastrophe. The Socialist Labor Party membership, forewarned and prepared, contrary to the Socialist partyites, whose hopes had been made to run high, was neither shocked nor disgusted nor bewildered. They were able to understand that nothing else than social patriotism and capitalist subserviency at the time when all the home nations were "attacked" by "foreign enemies" could have been expected from men and organizations that even in the time of peace had advo-

cated and practiced the cooperation of classes instead of the revolutionary class struggle.

The thumb-nail sketches of the leaders of the Second International are exceedingly interesting at this hour and demonstrate De Leon's analytic ability. The venerable Bebel who, as De Leon says somewhere, had so long set his teeth into the feudal conditions of Europe that they had finally worn out, died in time to be spared the choice between revolution and social patriotism. His life work was done and it would be mere folly to offer a conjecture as to what he would have done had he lived to see the war. His "genius," as De Leon puts it, was "good to him," and did not preserve him alive until the time when the crash came in Europe. Certain it is that as a revolutionist he could have done but little. The current was against him. The Socialist organizations had been emasculated. Jean Jaures died a martyr and a hero in the first mad moment of the conflict, and as such let him rest, an incarnation of proletarian anti-militarism. Jules Guesde, the fiercest opponent of Jaures, an old man worn out in the struggle, totally disappeared from the horizon after he too had become a war patriot "to save France," thus overthrowing even De Leon's "last hope" in the International. However, out of the party built by the opposition of Guesde, Vaillant and the other "talented men," which that opposition party is entirely responsible for, arose whatever vigor the Socialist movement of France is showing at the present time. Karl Kautsky, the au-

thor of the cooperation of classes resolution, stands forth today, and justly so, as the soul of opportunism in the labor movement of Europe. The scathing Philippics hurled against him by Nicolai Lenin exposed the hollowness of his "revolutionary purpose" and Socialist pretensions, though he has attempted to save himself from the odium which clings to the Second International by attempting that caricature known as the Two-and-a-half International. Emile Vandervelde on the other hand serves as the ultra-personification of the Second International, Vandervelde who even after the war served as head of the Belgian government, striving with might and main to rescue and prop up dying European capitalism. We find here the portraits of other more or less prominent actors in the drama of 1914-1918, Victor Adler, George Plechanoff, Enrico Ferri, Clara Zetkin and others, all together making a magnificent composite picture of the conditions of the European Socialist movement ten years before the crash.

Today "Flashlights of the Amsterdam Congress" is a historic document of the greatest value, not only because it throws light into the dark crevices of the past, but even more so because it has become a powerful searchlight that will be of infinite aid in guiding the working class on the revolutionary pathway of the future.

OLIVE M. JOHNSON.

January 1929.

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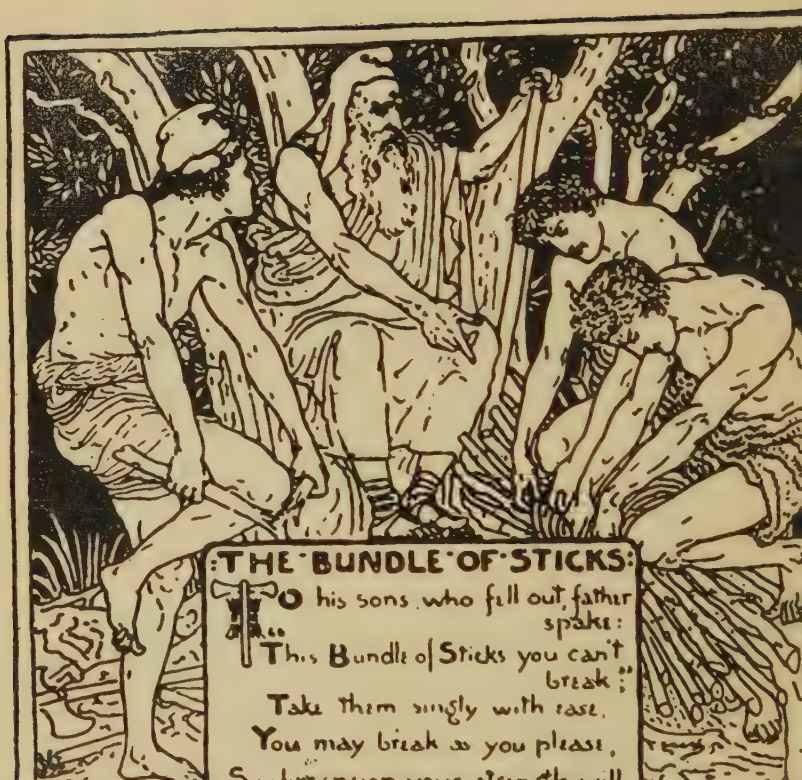
THE BUNDLE OF STICKS:
To his sons, who fell out, father spake:
"This Bundle of Sticks you can't break;
Take them singly with ease,
You may break as you please,
But dissension your strength will unmake."
STRENGTH IS IN UNITY

AFTER DRAWING BY WALTER CRANE

PRELIMINARY REPORT.

Amsterdam, August 18.—The International Congress has been in session, nominally since last Sunday, that is six days. In point of fact, what has been in session virtually all this time was the Committee on International Political Policy, that is, the committee to rectify the blunder of the last International Congress of 1900, when the Kautsky resolution* was adopted. So important was the subject before this committee considered to be that, if not the bulk, yet so large a portion of the convention crowded into the lobby of the committee's room, that for one day and a half the sessions of the convention were wholly suspended, and for another day and a half the convention was allowed to hold its sessions and transact trifles. Thus, while the Hyndman Social Democratic Federation was "entertaining" the mutilated congress with the former's banal propositions and its Dadabhai Naorodji, Hindoo member of its delegation, the sober part of the convention attended the debates of the committee. These lasted from Monday afternoon, the 15th, to today, Thursday, at noon, the 18th.

To sum up the situation in the committee, it was

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*See Add. A.

this: One-fourth of the committee was perfectly satisfied with the Kautsky resolution. This element was typified by Jaures: he would have liked to see the Kautsky resolution reaffirmed, if possible made more convenient to his Utopian bent of mind; the rest of that element, consisting of the Belgians, the Danes, the Swedes, the Norwegians, the Dutch, the Austrians, one Polish and one Swiss delegate, preferred on the whole the *status quo*. The other three-fourths of the committee were dissatisfied with the Kautsky resolution, and wanted to get rid of it somehow. Of these I held the extreme position—extreme in the sense that I moved plump and plain its repeal. I did not typify this element; the bulk of it, either out of consideration for Kautsky, or out of consideration for the German Social Democracy, or out of some other reasons, preferred to proceed with a tender hand and in a roundabout way.

The debate opened early on the afternoon of Monday, the 15th, with a short speech by Guesde. He was answered by Jaures; Jaures was answered by Kautsky; Kautsky was answered by myself. I said in substance:

"Both Kautsky and Jaures have agreed that an International Congress can do no more than establish cardinal general principles; and they both agree that concrete measures of policy must be left to the requirements of individual countries. So do I hold. Kautsky scored the point against Jaures that the latter is estopped from objecting to decrees by the congress on concrete matters

of policy, because Jaures voted in Paris for the Kautsky resolution. That argument also is correct, and being correct it scores a point against Kautsky himself, at the same time. His argument is an admission that his resolution goes beyond the theoretical sphere which, according to himself, it is the province of an International Congress to legislate upon. It must be admitted that the countries of the sisterhood of nations are not all at the same grade of social development. We know that the bulk of them still are hampered by feudal conditions. The concrete tactics applicable and permissible in them, are inapplicable and unpermissible in a republic like the United States, for instance. But the sins of the Kautsky resolution are more serious than even that. Kautsky just stated that his resolution contemplated only an extreme emergency—a war, for instance, and that he never could or did contemplate the case of a Socialist sitting in a cabinet alongside of a Galliffet. He says so. We must believe him. But while he was contemplating the distant, the imaginary possibility of a war that was not in sight, everybody else at the Paris congress had in mind a thing that WAS in sight; a thing that was palpitating and throbbing with a feverish pulse; aye, a spectacle under which the very opening of the Paris Congress was thrown into convulsions. And what spectacle was that?—Why, it was the very spectacle and fact of a Socialist sitting in a cabinet cheek by jowl, not merely with A, but with THE Galliffet. Whatever Kautsky may have been thinking of when

he presented his resolution and voted for it, we have his own, officially recorded words that go to show that he knew what the minds of all others were filled with at the time. I have here in my satchel the official report of the Dresden convention. In his speech, therein recorded, he says himself, that Auer, the spokesman of the German delegation in favor of the Kautsky resolution, said when speaking for the resolution: 'We, in Germany, have not yet a Millerand; we are not yet so far; but I hope we may soon be so far'—that is what was in the minds of all—Millerand, the associate of Galliffet.

"It is obvious that a resolution adopted under such conditions — its own framer keeping his eyes on an emergency that was not above the horizon, while all others kept their eyes upon the malodorous enormity that was bumping against their noses and shocking the Socialist conscience of the world—it goes without saying that such a resolution, adopted under such conditions, should have thrown the Socialist world into the convulsions of the discussions that we all know of during the last four years; it goes without saying that such a resolution would be interpreted in conflicting senses, and that has happened to such an extent that the Kautsky resolution has come to be known as the 'Kaoutchouc resolution.' (Uproarious laughter.)

"In view of this fact the first thing to do is to clear the road of such an encumbrance. For that reason I move the adoption of the following resolution:

" 'Whereas, The struggle between the working class and the capitalist class is a continuous and irrepressible conflict, a conflict that tends every day rather to be intensified than to be softened;

" 'Whereas, The existing governments are committees of the ruling class, intended to safeguard the yoke of capitalist exploitation upon the neck of the working class;

" 'Whereas, At the last International Congress, held in Paris, in 1900, a resolution generally known as the Kautsky resolution was adopted, the closing clauses of which contemplate the emergency of the working class accepting office at the hand of such capitalist governments, and also and especially PRESUPPOSES THE POSSIBILITY OF IMPARTIALITY ON THE PART OF THE RULING CLASS GOVERNMENTS IN THE CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE WORKING CLASS AND THE CAPITALIST CLASS; and

" 'Whereas, the said clauses—applicable, perhaps, in countries not yet wholly freed from feudal institutions—were adopted under conditions both in France and in the Paris Congress itself, that justify erroneous conclusions on the nature of the class struggle, the character of capitalist governments, and the tactics that are imperative upon the proletariat in the pursuit of its campaign to overthrow the capitalist system in countries, which, like the United States of America, have wholly wiped out feudal institutions; therefore, be it

" 'Resolved, First, That the said Kautsky resolution be and the same is hereby repealed as a principle of general Socialist tactics;

" 'Second, That, in fully developed capitalist countries, like America, the working class cannot, without betrayal of the cause of the proletariat, fill any political office other than they conquer for and by themselves.

" 'Offered by DANIEL DE LEON, Delegate of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America, with credentials from the Socialist Labor Party of Australia and of Canada.'

"From New York to California the Socialist Labor Party, that I here represent, felt the shock of that Kautsky resolution. The *Evening Post* quoted it as an illustration of the 'sanity' of the European Socialists as against us 'insane' Socialists of America. From the way you have received my proposition to repeal the mistake, I judge my proposition will not be accepted. So much the worse for you. But whether accepted or not, I shall be able to return to America—as our Socialist Labor Party delegation did from Paris four years ago—with my hands and the skirts of the Party clear from all blame, the real victors in the case."

During the rest of that Monday afternoon, the whole of the following Tuesday and Wednesday until 7 and 8 p. m., and down to today, at noon, the debate raged. The representatives of all the nations (there were two of each on the committee) spoke. Where

they stood is indicated by my introductory remarks. The last speech but one was a one and a half hour speech by Jaures. It was a grandiose effort of Utopian Socialism, which Guesde immediately ripped up with a twenty minute speech in answer. That closed the debate.

The parliamentary practice here in vogue is unique. According thereto, besides mine, there were five other resolutions. They each reflected a different shade of opinion. One of them was positively humorous. It came from the Swiss. Its purport was that no nation can learn by the experience of other nations; that the evils of what they called the policy of "the cooperation of the classes"—meaning thereby the Jaures policy of the Kautsky resolution—must first be felt by all nations before they would be wise enough to condemn and reject it. The resolution allowed each nation to "go its own cake-walk," as we would say in America. Another resolution, proposed by Adler of Austria jointly with Vandervelde of Belgium, was the adoption of the Dresden resolution with such amendments, such sweetenings, as to be tantamount to pulling out all its teeth.* The British contingent of freaks on the committee was dead stuck on this. Another resolution was to adopt the Dresden Congress resolution.** The proposal was made by our friends of the so-called Guesde party, the Socialist party of France. Around this resolution was

*See Add. E.

**See Add. C.

ranked the bulk of the committee for the reasons indicated above. The resolution emphatically condemned, and without qualification, the very wrongs that the Kautsky resolution approved of under qualifications. It condemned them so emphatically that although, in order to let Kautsky, and the German Socialists generally, down softly, the Dresden resolution claims that its condemnations are in line with the Kautsky resolution (!!) Jaures emphatically opposed them. The ranking of the several resolutions made the Dresden resolution the original motion; the Adler-Vandervelde proposition the first amendment; some other propositions amendments to the amendment; then my motion; and first of all the Swiss proposition. The whole set was to be voted on in the inverse order that I have mentioned them here, and they were all voted down, my own receiving but my own vote, until the vote came on the Dresden resolution. The real test was not reached until the Adler-Vandervelde omelet was reached. It was defeated by twenty-four votes against sixteen—myself voting with the majority. When the vote was reached on the Dresden resolution it was carried by twenty-seven votes against three, with Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and one delegate of Poland and of Switzerland each abstaining from voting. The three votes against came, two from Argentina and one (Jaures') from France. My own motion having been defeated, and the Adler-Vandervelde, together with all the other covert pro-Kautsky resolution motions, hav-

ing also been rejected, there was nothing for me to do but to vote for the Dresden resolution as the best thing that could be obtained under the circumstances. To vote against it would have been to rank the Socialist Labor Party of America alongside of Jaures; to abstain from voting would be a roundabout way of doing the same thing. In voting as I did, I explained my position as wishing to give the greatest emphasis that the circumstances allowed me to the condemnation of the Jaures policy, and the Kautsky resolution; and I stated that I would so explain my position in the Congress when I would there present my own resolution again.

Upon the subject of the committee's report to the Congress a spirited discussion, possible only under this unique parliamentary practice, sprang up. Bebel expressed his horror of the whole question being again threshed over in the Congress. He hoped none of the defeated propositions would be reintroduced on the floor; and he proposed that Vandervelde, whose own proposition had been defeated, be made the committee's reporter, he to make, not a report for the majority, but a comprehensive report for the whole committee, each side furnishing him with a short statement to be embodied in his general report. I furnished him with the following statement which he correctly wove into his report:

"The Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America voted at Paris in 1900 against the Kautsky resolution, and continues to oppose it.

"It did and does so because the said resolution contains two clauses:

"First, it contemplates participation by the working class in capitalist governments by the grace of capitalist officials;

"Second, it supposes impartiality possible on the part of bourgeois governments in the conflicts between the working class and the capitalist class.

"I carry the express mandate to vote for the repeal of that resolution; and in obedience thereto I have presented the following resolution. [The resolution above given follows here.]

"The majority of the committee did not look at the Kautsky resolution as the Socialist Labor Party does. But it was obvious to me that the committee agrees with the S. L. P. in that the Kautsky resolution has led to numerous misunderstandings, in view of which they rallied around the Dresden resolution which corrects the defects of the Kautsky resolution.

"Therefore, my motion to repeal the Kautsky resolution having been rejected, I joined the majority, in favor of the Dresden resolution, although it quotes the Kautsky resolution approvingly, because its wording does in fact repeal the Kautsky resolution, to which my Party is unalterably opposed."

Today's session was taken up with the matter, and excepting Bebel and Jaures, most of the members of the committee abstained from speaking again before

the Congress, so as to give the other delegates a chance to take the floor. The decision of the committee was approved by the Congress.

There is a great deal of grumbling in the Congress on the score of the matter having been actually debated in committee, while the Congress itself was given only the dregs. The grumbling is all the louder owing to the fact that this matter was the one and real subject of interest. But how do it otherwise? Here is a Babel of languages, a score of nationalities, temperaments and habits—and last, not least, barely six days to handle a question that would require as many months.

All I here wish to add to this report is a characterization of the speeches made in the committee. These speeches were, with hardly an exception, full of information, practical and valuable, and most of them replete with theoretical principles. Ferri's (Italy) speech was essentially theoretical upon political methods. Adler's (Austria) was well characterized by Rosa Luxemburg (Polish wing) as sausage or hash. Vandervelde's (Belgium) was theatrical. Plechanoff's (Russian Social Democratic Labor party) satirical; his stiletto digs made Adler and Vandervelde squirm; he characterized their attitude as one of "systematic doubt"; they in turn answered with the charge that it was easy for him to have unity in his party, because whoever disagreed with him was kicked out. (Has not this a familiar ring on American ears?) Bax's and Macdonald's speeches (English

S. D. F. and "Labor Representation Committee" combination) were genuine products of whence they came from. Bax, for instance, objected to the word "civilization," he preferred "socialization" and spoke lengthily on that; Macdonald claimed to represent "millions." There was a general giggle at both. Nemec (Bohemia) stated that the present looseness of things had replaced Anarchy on its feet; even in Berlin a meeting 1,500 strong had been addressed by an Anarchist: he had charged the German Social Democracy with being a bourgeois affair with a Socialist cloak, and that not a single voice was raised in the meeting in denial. Hillquit (Socialist party of America) stated the Kautsky Resolution was accurate and good and suited him. He denied that it had shocked the classconscious workers of America. It may seem strange, but such, on me at least, was the effect: Bebel's speech was about the weakest in point of substance. Its bulk was taken up with an attack on Jaures for having given the preference to the Republic of France above the German monarchy. True enough, Bebel said he also would prefer a republic, but his argument against that part of Jaures' utterances came perilously near sounding like German nativism. For the rest he said many good things.

With the vote on this subject by the convention the Congress may be said to have adjourned *de facto*.

DANIEL DE LEON.

I.

JEAN JAURES.

I take up Jaures first, not because I consider him to be, or to have been, least of all because I am of opinion that he will henceforth be the or a leading figure in the Socialist movement of Europe. On the contrary, I believe he is done for in the Socialist camp. Just for this reason, coupled with this other that around him the war has been raging for the last four years and was climaxed at Amsterdam, I wish to treat of him first.

Jaures, our readers will greatly wonder thereat, is no orator—and that to his credit. Two minutes on his feet and speaking settle the point. He lacks two of what is established as essential characteristics of the orator. In the inventory of these essentials, enumerated by Plato of old in his Gorgias, and closely followed by our own Emerson of our own days, tallness or stateliness of figure and a melodious voice are given first rank. Jaures is short and stocky; and as to his voice, it sounds like the bray of a trumpet, rather harsh, unpleasant upon the ear. Neither the eye nor the ear is taken in.

The external appearance of the "orator," backed by his voice, must be captivating. Since the days of the

Athenian market-place, down to those of our own modern public platforms, these external features have been found usually to go together with an ability of a special kind, the ability of the sophist, of the intellectual tight-rope dancer, of the juggler with thought, of the venal character, the superficial, insincere man. The orator must be able to "take in" his audience—not to educate, instruct or drill it. Fascinated by his appearance, lulled by the melody of his voice, the orator's audience is expected by him to be humbugged. Here in America, where — if the platform speakers of the old political parties are critically watched—it will be noticed that the "committees on speakers" instinctively follow the classic rules laid down by Plato, we have a living type and exponent of the orator. He is Bourke Cockran. With an imposing appearance and a voice like an auditorium organ, he fills the air with sweet sound and glittering phrases, which he non-partisanly sells one day to the gold standard, another to the silver standard, one day to Tammany, another to the Republican party of New York City, one day to militarism, another day to anti-expansion—always intent upon "taking in," a man of no convictions. That is the orator; Jaures is none such.

I know that in my estimate of Jaures' intellectual integrity I probably differ from many a comrade of the admirable Parti Socialiste de France. But men in a hand-to-hand struggle with another cannot always do him exact justice. It is impossible to have our pound of

flesh without the corresponding drops of blood. Jaures has been an unqualified nuisance in the Socialist movement of the world at large, of France in particular. He must be removed—with all the tenderness that is possible, but with all the harshness that may be necessary. Yet he is a man of convictions and of noble purpose.

When Guesde closed the debate in the Committee on International Political Attitude, ripping up Jaures with a brilliant little speech, he turned to Jaures at a certain point and said: "I shall not call that your crime, but the consequence of YOUR conception of Socialism." Jaures is the best, the most favorable, type I know of what is called the "intellectual" or "utopian" Socialist. A man of vast reading, his overtopping ideology has prevented him from a systematic acquisition of the knowledge of Socialism. Socialist maxims are quickly transformed in his mind into hollow phrases; unsteadied by the strictness of Socialist logic, they fly off the handle, aimlessly. Many a sentence of his great speech sounded on the domain of Socialism, as if on the domain of geology one were to claim that the Post-Tertiary period did not need the previous development of the Paleozoic; or on the domain of botany that the oak can evolute direct from the moss; or on the domain of palæontology that the eohippus is not a necessary precursor of the horse; or on the domain of mechanics that the Marconi wireless telegraphy need not be predicated upon the previously acquired telegraphic appliances. The man knows nothing of the

geology, so to speak, of Socialist science. But the nonsense Jaures utters is uttered with a conviction born of earnest, though impatient purpose, and nourished and given wings to by high scholastic training. That, uttered in choicest diction, produces an ensemble that is wonderful and by its very wonderfulness must serve as a warning to all serious laborers on the field of Socialism.

What has falsely given Jaures the unenviable title of "orator" is his diction, the brilliancy and fluency thereof, his quickness at pithy repartee. A few instances of the latter will convey an idea of what I mean.

During the debate, Adler, having the floor, was attacking Plechanoff whom he designated as a dangerous "physician" who might injure the "patient." The subject being about himself, Jaures interjected: "And I am the disease."

Again. Just before him on the list of speakers was Rosa Luxemburg, who also acted on the committee as the translator from French into German. She let fly against him a scathing Philippic, during which he frequently writhed under her lash, the burden of her argument being that the so-called "cooperation of the classes" was productive of evil only. It was Jaures' turn next. He rose, and as soon as the applause on Rosa Luxemburg's speech ceased, he opened his great speech (and great it was, in its way) with these words: "And yet, within a few minutes, you will see the citizen Rosa Luxemburg translating me into German; you will thus

see how there CAN be useful cooperation despite conflict."

Again. As Jaures faced the committee during his speech he stood opposite to Pablo Iglesias, one of the representatives of Spain, who sat in the first row of seats. In the measure that he warmed up, Jaures crowded, unknown to himself, more and more upon Iglesias. Iglesias leaned, tipping his chair more and more back. But a moment came, when Jaures in a flight of eloquence dashed forward, that Iglesias lost his balance and nearly fell over backward. Jaures stepped back, and remarked to Iglesias: "There were no Pyrenees between us!"—alluding to the high mountain range that separates France from Spain.

I cannot conceive of Jaures working in the harness requisite for the Socialist infantry of the revolutionary army any more than I can conceive of a warbling nightingale in a cage. The action of the Amsterdam Congress will, I believe, have for its effect the dismemberment of his party. Its radical wing will in all probability pull away and join the Parti Socialiste de France (Guesdist). But neither do I believe that such dismemberment of Jaures' party will be its or his finish. In all probability Jaures will organize a large radical bourgeois party, of radically subversive policy and propaganda. As the leader of such a body, outside of the Socialist camp, his labors to Socialism will be invaluable—as invaluable as they are harmful within the Socialist camp.

As I have more than once said with regard to our own American affairs, if there were no so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic party here, the Socialist Labor Party should itself set up such a concern. I believe our comrades of the Parti Socialiste de France will find their account in promoting the setting up of such a Jaures radical party in France. A fighting, militant party of Socialism must be free from the "intellectual," "utopian" and not always honest elements that would otherwise crowd into its ranks and bother it, if there is no such "intellectual," "utopian" and "broadly" tolerant ditch to attract and drain them into.

II.

AUGUST BEBEL.

By all odds, the most conspicuous—though not, as will appear in the course of this serial, the most important or pregnant—figure in the European movement of today is Bebel. The three million and odd votes polled by the German Social Democracy, of which Bebel is the unquestioned head, furnish no mean pedestal for the statue that tops it. Even a small statue will tower up high when standing upon a tall enough basis. Much more so Bebel, who is no mannikin, but a characterful man, a man of earnest purpose, exalted aims and great ability.

In "The Review of the Dresden Congress,"* published in these columns in January of this year, I had occasion to take the parallax of this distinguished man on his own, the German firmament, in juxtaposition with other luminaries of his own party. At the Amsterdam International Congress occasion was offered for observation of the man upon the broader firmament of the whole European movement.

Those who have read "The Review of the Dresden

*See Add. M.

Congress" will understand me readily; those who have not are referred to the said article, into the details of which I cannot here enter. The former I remind of the local situation of Germany. The Social Democratic movement of Germany is, as Lafargue, using continental-parliamentary idiom, recently termed it at Lille, a "party of opposition." Seeing that that which it opposes, or confronts, is not capitalism in its purity, but feudalism soused with capitalism—as surviving feudal institutions are bound to be at this late date—the party of Bebel has by the force of circumstances been constrained to take the leadership and become the embodiment of radical bourgeois reforms. The task which circumstances thus rolled upon its shoulders is of present first magnitude. It is of first magnitude to Germany; and, seeing that Germany therein embodies the radical aspirations of the bulk of the semi-feudal continent, the German Social Democracy is actually pivotal for the whole European continent—France excepted, who is ahead of them all. None better realizes the huge responsibility of the German Social Democracy than Bebel, and, consequently, the tremendous weight upon his own shoulders, as the party's head. The result of this manifests itself in Bebel in two ways—one a vice, the other a virtue.

The vice, quite a pardonable one under the circumstances, is the superstition that German conditions should set the pace for the whole world. Such, oddly enough, is man's human, infirm make-up that, in the

end, we contract a kind of latent, unconscious affection for that which we have long struggled against. The close grappling with a foe seems to impart to us some kindred feeling for him. It seems that the physical proximity of heart to heart in the wrestle establishes some degree of community between the two. The Lacedemonian maxim not to carry to the pursuit of a foe beyond certain bounds may be the fruit of deep philosophic insight into this human failing. As certain as effect follows cause, the vice of excessive or nativistic love leads, first, to indifference to proper information regarding other countries, and ultimately to a cultivated ignorance regarding them—a serious drawback in a Socialist leader. Those who have read my translation of the recent thirty-third edition of Bebel's "Woman Under Socialism" will remember a number of footnotes that I felt constrained to insert in correction of bizarre misstatements of fact on America. True enough, the misstatements of fact are irrelevant to the main question—woman. On that question the work is a tactical effort of genius, an unerring shot at bourgeois society. Nevertheless, such errors of neglected information reveal serious weakness. Man studies the anatomy of even the dog in order the better to understand his own. Can the Socialist leader of a country, so far behind America as is Germany in both political and economic capitalist development, neglect to inform himself accurately on the political and economic anatomy of America without eventual injury to his own

effectiveness at home? Manifestations of Bebel's vice cropped out here and there at the Amsterdam Congress.

The virtue that Bebel's deep sense of responsibility has developed in the man is his marked impatience with what, at the risk of seeming trivial, I can best express as "tomfoolery." Every line in the man's face means WORK—work to the point, no use for filigree, or twaddle. I recall two instances thereof. Of course, they occurred during the protracted sessions of the great Committee on International Political Policy.

The first took place at the afternoon sessions of the second and third days. The committee had gone into session on the afternoon of Monday, that is of the second day of the Congress, and the Congress had been adjourned that morning to the next day, Tuesday afternoon. This and the other committees were to do their work in the interval. This particular committee, however, had hardly begun its sessions when it became probable that its work could not be done in so short a time. The fact became obvious at the committee's session of Tuesday forenoon. It was thereupon decided to recommend to the Congress in the afternoon that it adjourn for the day. This was done. At the committee's session of Tuesday afternoon the turn of affairs clearly indicated that there were several days' work before it. What to do? Again ask the Congress to adjourn? Or should the Congress be allowed to go into session while this committee was absent? Objec-

tions were raised to the latter proposition; the objectors wanted the committee to adjourn. While this committee was in session, their argument ran, it drew to its lobby a large portion of the Congress; the meetings of the Congress would be slimly attended; and then there were important matters that would otherwise be left to a rump; there was, for instance, the "immigration resolution," the "India resolution"—Bebel's patience gave way. "Nonsense!" he broke in with, "Trifles! All trifles! A rump can attend to all that! This here is the real issue!" and so forth. Bebel was certainly right. Those who sided with him prevailed. Wednesday and Thursday the rump Congress held its sessions and revelled in trifles. But the bother with the triflers and lovers of tomfoolery was not yet over. In the course of the committee's Wednesday afternoon's session, Mr. Morris Hillquit, the delegate of the Socialist, or Social Democratic party of America, came in with a washed-out dejected countenance. He had been appointed by the Bureau one of the Congress chairmen for that day. But there had been no glory in the office. The opportunity for stage-strutting was nil at a session from which the bulk of the members were absent—the serious ones in the lobby of the committee, the light-headed ones "doing" the town—and only the straggling few, who were listless enough not to know what to do with themselves, attended the session of the Congress. He came in with the suggestion that if that sort of thing continued it would have a very bad effect upon the galleries.

Bebel could not contain himself in his seat; he finally blurted out: "Ach was!" (what of it!) "We continue in session!"—and we did.

The second cheering instance of Bebel's impatience with tomfoolery was on the Thursday afternoon and closing hours of the committee's sessions. The procedure was being discussed for the next day when the committee would make its report to the Congress. Troelstra, of the Holland delegation, and chairman of the committee, favored a series of displayful speeches after the committee's report in the Congress, and he went sentimentally on to say: "When the heart is full—." He got no further, at least the rest of the sentence was not audible. Bebel had broken in with: "Comedy! Comedy! Comedy! Comedy!" four times, each time louder.

In my preliminary report from Amsterdam, summing up the speeches made on the resolution on political tactics, I referred to Bebel's as weak. I shall here take up only that passage of his speech upon which the whole was poised, limiting myself here simply to pointing out its weakness or defect. Later, when I shall come to the resolution itself, together with its significant setting, the significance of Bebel's weakness will become more obvious.

The burden of Jaures' song was that his policy had saved the republic, whereas a clerical-military monarchy would have set back the hour-hand on the dial of history; and turning upon Bebel he added: "You simply

seek to conceal behind revolutionary declarations the fact of your political or parliamentary impotence. I anxiously await the day when I shall watch your doings in case you have a parliament that is a parliament—a parliament whose vote directly affects government." Bebel made a great pretence, by means of vehemence and of length of speech, to meet the two points. He missed both.

As to the latter, his answer was that in Germany they needed, not a simple minority, as in France, nor even a bare majority, but an overwhelming majority to accomplish anything—which was simply stating the reasons for exactly what Jaures had said, reasons that Jaures did not enumerate, justly considering the act superfluous. It is the feature of a real parliamentary government that it CAN control the executive's hand; in such bodies, accordingly, a minority HAS opportunities for effective parliamentary manoeuvres. In such bodies, and in such bodies only, can the sincerity of the revolutionary declarations of a minority be tested.—Why did Bebel shrink from the admission? Why did he affect to assail that part of Jaures' position, when, in fact, he was but bearing out Jaures?

Even weaker was Bebel in his handling of the first part of Jaures' claim, the claim that his policy had saved the republic. Guesde denied point-blank that the republic had been in danger. Bebel did not. He took a different tack. His tack was a long enumeration of high-handed acts of brutality committed upon work-

ingmen by the republican government of France. Bebel supplemented his list with the recent Colorado outrages. "Feudal-monarchic Germany," said he, "could not furnish so black a record"—very true, but what has that to do with the case?—"While we would prefer a republic," he went on to say, "we care not to break our heads for such a republic."

Every Socialist is aware that capitalism brings in its wake outrages unheard of in previous systems. But every Socialist also knows that progress in the social evolutionary scale is not to be gauged by the volume of labor's trials. The determining factor of social progress is the POSSIBILITY that a social stage offers for redress and for emancipation. Fred Douglas, no less an authority than he, admitted deliberately, shortly before dying, that "the present condition of the Negro is tangibly worse than when he was a chattel slave." Whatever the reason therefor, the law of social evolution is from the paternally both kind and cruel feudal system to the freedom of the Socialist Republic VIA THE VALLEY OF THE SHADOW OF DEATH OF CAPITALISM. Whether he and we wanted it or no, the Negro HAD "to break his head" for his present "tangibly worse" position. It is progress because the present condition, the wage slave status, is the necessary precursor and key with which to open the gates of the Socialist Republic. Bebel's answer implied a denial of all this, and brought him perilously near false sociologic principle through nativistic absurdity. If he

cared not to deny, as Guesde did, the allegation that the republic was in danger, the only answer that the supreme occasion called for was the plump and plain retort that the possibilities for progress contained in the bourgeois republic, a valuable, if not a necessary, stepping stone to the Socialist Republic, can be really endangered only in the measure that its existence is prolonged after it has waxed rotten-ripe to make room for the Socialist Republic—and that Socialism, as a contingent in a bourgeois parliamentary "bloc," could only tend to scuttle such possibilities for progress.—Why did Bebel fail here, too?

August Bebel is recognized as a leading debater of Europe—the very foremost of Germany. Nor can his understanding of Socialism be questioned. With a thorough knowledge of Socialism, inspired with a serious purpose and zeal for the Social Revolution, and withal gifted with extraordinary powers for debate—,with all that, how came he to be so weak at that critical moment in Amsterdam? The answer will be given when I reach the Dresden-Amsterdam resolution. I may so far here anticipate the subject by saying:—Bebel stood in, and he was manoeuvred into a false position at Amsterdam.

III.

JULES GUESDE.

The "Parti Socialiste de France" (Socialist party of France) is frequently referred to as the Guesdist party. I have frequently done so myself in these reports. The term is wrong. It is accountable only by the circumstance that, of the four organizations, among which is Vaillant's or the Blanquists and which now constitute the P. S. de F., the Guesdists were the first to rise against the Jaures-Millerand combine. Vailliant's and the other three organizations also protested. But at the start they seem to have been of the opinion that there still was help in the Jaures organization, and met with it at the convention of Lyons—the first convention after that of Wagram Hall, which, taking place immediately after the International Congress of Paris of 1900, where the fateful Kautsky resolution was adopted, established the first schism between the then united factions. Guesde's organization, the Parti Ouvrier Socialiste (Socialist Labor party) bolted outright. Vaillant's and the others in a measure remained. Added to that came another circumstance. The great Lille debate took place immediately after the Wagram Hall rupture, and there it was Guesde who crossed

swords with Jaures, and wounded Jauresism in its vitals, just when it boasted that it would mop the earth with its foes, and, by the noise that it made, seemed in a fair way to do so. It is to this sequence of events that the error of calling the present P. S. de F. the "Guesdist party" is due. The error is natural. But still an error. Vaillant—as all who know him intimately agree in saying—is a sage and a man of action combined. If without Guesde the P. S. de F. would not and could not be the nervy organization that it is, neither could it be that without Vaillant. In fact, from watching the present P. S. de F. at its recent national convention, just before the International Congress, and noticing the large number of talented men that it embraces, the conclusion forced itself upon me that even such a designation as the Guesde-Vaillant party would be a misnomer. I single out Guesde in this serial because his activity in Amsterdam was the most conspicuous.

Whosoever has derived pleasure and profit from a careful observation of heads—especially if he has had occasion to notice the sawed-off back of the head of Alexander Jonas of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung,* and to take cognizance of the gentleman's characteristics—will appreciate the warning to be cautious lest he fall into an error by a hasty glance at Guesde's head. The characteristics of the head, sawed off at the back and giving it a sugar-loaf appearance, are absence of moral fibre—a weak morale and flimsy intellectuality, in short, the worm-characteristics. At first glance, Guesde's

head looks sawed-off in the back. It is an optical illusion. So high is the dome of Guesde's head that the robustness of his back-head is at first glance concealed. Intimate acquaintances and admirers of Guesde's, Lafargue for instance, tell me that Guesde is of such frail health that his robust physical and mental activity is solely the result of stupendous moral energy. In no manner detracting from Guesde's moral vigor, I hold his acquaintances to be in error. Frail as Guesde's health is, the man has the physical vigor of a bull. Planted upon such ground, Guesde's sterling intellectuality, backed by the solidity of the back of his head, gives promise of phenomenal results. Some one at Amsterdam said to me Guesde was too good looking a man to be a revolutionist. Guesde's conduct at the great Committee on International Political Policy told a different tale. He displayed the true revolutionist's tactfulness, alertness, vigor, aggressiveness, and, withal, the surprising intellectual powers that culminated in his short speech tearing Jauresism to pieces, and that was crowned with the adoption of the Dresden-Amsterdam resolution — no slight victory, essentially the fruit of his labors at the Congress, and, long before the meeting of the Congress, labored for by the P. S. de F. But, again, I must not anticipate. Leaving the role played by the P. S. de F. in bringing about the Dresden-Amsterdam resolution for when I reach that subject, I shall limit myself under this week's head to the conduct of Guesde at the Congress or committee itself.

Strictly speaking, and as I originally reported, Guesde opened the debate. In point of fact what he then said could hardly be called the opening of the debate. He merely explained some of the terms of the resolution adopted by the P. S. de F., and pointed out some of the errors that had crept into the slovenly version of the resolution as published by the International Bureau. He also stated that the P. S. de F. disclaimed any purpose of "seeking international aid for itself in the internal strifes of the movement at home"—another subject to which I shall have occasion to revert when I reach the subject of the Dresden-Amsterdam resolution. Altogether, Guesde did not then speak five minutes. Jaures started the ball rolling. From early that Monday afternoon till late in the afternoon session of Wednesday the debate proceeded. No member of the P. S. de F. took part. Its two delegates, Guesde and Vaillant, on the committee sat silently watchful, and watchfully silent. Equally self-restrained were the party's numerous delegates to the Congress in the committee's lobby. Finally Jaures rose to speak, the last one on the list. Many an obviously cruel thrust did he make at the P. S. de F., and many more and venomed thrusts was I informed he made, only not perceptible except to those intimately acquainted with French affairs. Throughout all that, Vaillant and Guesde sat impassible. Finally Jaures made allusion to the decline of the P. S. de F.'s vote in Lille. Whether that thrust was really more aggravating than

any, or whether it was that Jaures' speech was drawing to the end and the opportunity had to be promptly seized for preconceived plans — whatever it was, at Jaures' thrust in the matter of the Lille vote, Guesde jumped up and demanded that he be given time to reply to that statement. This action on the part of Guesde furnished an all round fit wind-up to the committee.

Upon Guesde's interruption violent applause broke out, also a good deal of disorder. But both subsided speedily. Jaures proceeded with his remarkable speech, and brought it to a close amidst thunderous plaudits. The Jauresists were well represented in the lobby, and their sympathizers on the committee were not a few. Soon as the applause subsided, Guesde rushed forward to address the committee. Tumult ensued. There were violent protests against his taking the floor; more violent protests against the protesters. Members of the delegation of the P. S. de F. exchanged compliments with their adversaries of the Jaures party. Lucien Roland, the poet-songster of the P. S. de F., with some of whose beautiful poetic effusions the *People's* readers will be made acquainted, a man of set, impressive and expressive features, mounted a chair, and in resonant voice shouted to his party's adversaries: "You have heard us insulted! WE HAVE NOT HAD THE FLOOR IN THIS COMMITTEE! Will you refuse to hear us!?!" In between these cross-ejaculations Guesde shot off a word or two. Troelstra, as a member of the Holland delegation, the country in

which the Congress was held, was the chairman of the committee. He, for that matter all the Holland delegates whom I had opportunity to speak to or observe, is a thorough-paced Jauresist. I saw not one who would not break a leg to be minister. Troelstra, accordingly, looked for support from the committee, from the audience, from the air to refuse Guesde the floor. The demands for Guesde increased in volume and determination. I was doing my share. Presently Guesde was heard saying: "I shall not take long. I need but a few minutes!" Troelstra seemed to see a way out of his dilemma. "Very well," said he, "if it's only a few minutes you want, I now give you the floor." These words were a serious slip; nor was Guesde slow in profiting by it. Raising himself to his full six-foot height, he looked down at Troelstra with indignation. "Not for that reason!" he exclaimed. "Not for that reason! I demand the floor as an absolute right. I have the right to be heard at the International Congress of Socialists!" The ringing, thunderous applause, accompanied with cries of "Guesde!" "Guesde!" drowned all contrary demonstration, if there was any. Troelstra surrendered cleverly; he himself joined the applause. Guesde got the floor as a matter of right.

Jaures' speech was reared on three posts. First, that his policy had saved the republic;—Guesde denied point blank that the republic was in danger, and showed upon Socialist ground why not. Secondly, that his organization was larger as shown by its large vote and

many more deputies;—Guesde denied that; he showed that what Jaures claimed as "his" vote and "his" deputies was a vote cast for candidates nominated by the prefecture, and he challenged him to name one exception. De Pressense, in the audience, here broke in: "I, for one; I was not nominated by the prefecture." "I am glad to hear that you, De Pressense, are an exception! It is the exception that proves the rule! Name another! I dare you! I challenge you!" he cried out to Jaures. "You cannot name another! That makes only one! None of ours is a nominee of the prefecture!" Thirdly, Jaures had charged the P. S. de F. with also supporting the ministry;—Guesde illustrated the difference between an incidental vote cast for a bourgeois ministry in danger of falling under parliamentary blows of jingoes thirsting for war, and the constant support through thick and thin of a bourgeois government, including the voting for its army and navy appropriations, as the Jauresists had done. The three posts were knocked from under the grandiose superstructure of Jaures' speech, and the speech itself lay in a heap of ruins. It was all done within twenty minutes—a feat never to be forgotten; in itself worth going to Europe to witness, enjoy and profit by. I was told that, attacked by a chronic infirmity, after the vote that overthrew Jauresism, Guesde shook by the hand a friend, who called upon him, saying: "I cannot now speak, but my heart rejoices."

I make no question that among the many notabili-

ties in the Socialist movement of the Continent, Jules Guesde is the most pregnant. Should the evil genius of Bebel eventually prevail over the genius that, so far, has been exceptionally good to him, and preserve him alive when the crash will come upon Europe, it will be Guesde not Bebel that will dominate the day as the "deus ex machina" of the situation;—but of this more anon, when I shall reach the "Belgian Situation" of this serial.

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IV.

VICTOR ADLER.

A strange sensation comes over one when Adler speaks. He is a good speaker; he is an elegant speaker; he arrests the attention of his audience from the start, and keeps it to the finish, untired. One almost wishes to hear more. He spoke repeatedly in the committee. On one occasion he rose to submit a document, and started saying: "I'm not going to speak; only an explanation." Bebel thereupon called out to him banteringly: "Well, Victor, it must have pained you greatly to make the promise that you would not speak!" I leaned over to Kautsky, who sat just behind me, and asked him whether Adler was so fond of hearing himself talk. Kautsky answered with the neat epigram: "Whoever speaks well likes to speak." Indeed, Adler speaks well. He spoke often; yet, often though he spoke, he never said a foolish thing. Taken separately, in and by themselves, his sentences were weighted with wisdom. Nevertheless, taken connectedly, as speeches, in the place where and from the person by whom they were uttered, they were absurd—as absurd as a beautiful fish out of water, or a fine man under water. The finest of fishes is a corpse out of water, and so is the

finest of men under water. They are out of the conditions for their existence. In the council of war of Socialism, and in the mouth of the presumptive leader of a revolutionary movement in a great country like Austria, the nice balancing of pros and cons, the scrupulous scanning for possible evil in what seems good, and of possible good in what seems evil, the doubting and pondering—all that sort of thing is strangely out of place, downright absurd, however inestimable it may be in the philosopher's closet. It savors of the piping thoughts of peace, not of the rough thoughts of war. It savors of contemplative ease, not of action. The law of revolution is motion. Motion implies not necessarily hastiness; contemplation necessarily implies inactivity. As absurd as the revolutionist would be in a seance of philosophers, so absurd is the philosopher in a council of war. The former is a bull in a china-shop, the latter a mill-stone around the neck.

I mean neither to flatter nor insult when I say that Adler is a Montaigne out of season. Montaigne, admittedly the philosopher whose thoughts, more than any other's, have been absorbed by the thinking portion of the world, had for his emblem a nicely balanced pair of scales, and for motto: "Que scay ie?" (What do I know, after all?) Every time Adler spoke, methought I saw Montaigne's emblem quivering over his head, with Montaigne's motto resplendent at its base. Rosa Luxemburg styled Adler's reasoning "sausage," what in America would be called "hash." Plechanoff

brilliantly characterized it as the "theory of systematic doubt." Those who recall the witty, though often somewhat coarse, stories about General Geo. B. McClellan that sprang up during the Civil War, as the result of his Montaigne-like attitude in the field, may form a conception of Adler on the Socialist breastworks. The Adler-Vandervelde proposed resolution fittingly bears Adler's name as the first. What the Vandervelde contribution thereto meant I shall indicate when I come to Vandervelde himself. The document bore Adler's stamp in its paralytic contemplativeness.

Though not strictly germane to the subject of Adler, yet neither wholly disconnected therefrom, incidental mention may here be made, as food for thought, that fraught with significance is the circumstance of such a resolution—presented, moreover, after full four years of Jauresist exhibition—being able to muster up such strong support at the Congress as to be defeated only by a tie vote. Nor is this other circumstance lacking of significance in the premises:—The International Bureau had declined to recognize the Socialist Labor Party of Australia, whose credentials I carried; it declined the recognition, despite the party's 25,000 votes; it declined the recognition on the ground that Australia was "a colony and part of the British Empire"; and it decided to postpone action upon the matter until the British delegation's views were obtained, myself notified thereof and the matter then taken up anew by the Bureau with fuller light. Now, then, despite all this:

despite the credentials of the Australian S. L. P. being laid upon the table on the ground that Australia was "a colony and part of the British Empire," and as such, prima facie not entitled to separate recognition: despite any notification reaching me or action to the contrary being taken by the Bureau: despite all that, the very next day, what spectacle was that seen at the Congress? —the "colony and part of the British Empire," Australia, had a separate seat on the floor with a member of the British delegation, Mr. Claude Thompson, as the lone representative! And he cast the two votes of Australia (every nationality casts two) for what resolution? FOR THE ADLER-VANDERVELDE RESOLUTION! Thus the two votes of Australia, manufactured in that manner, gave the resolution a chance; they came within an ace of triumphantly carrying the resolution over the stile. All comment is unnecessary either as to what had happened behind curtains, or what influences were at work.

Returning to Adler, talented though such a man is, his style of talent tells several tales on the movement that can evolute him to its head. The first of these tales is that the Austrian movement still vacillates on infant legs; the second, that the leader of the Austrian movement is still to appear. When he appears, when the current of the Austrian movement shall have gained steadiness of course, among the first of its acts will be to sweep the vacillating, the philosophic Adler aside. And when that day comes, probably no historian or

philosopher will weigh the pros and cons of the removal with a more scrupulously judicial mind than will Victor Adler himself.

V.

GEORGE PLECHANOFF.

In order safely to judge men, their race, their language and the literature of their country should be known. He who is not versed upon these three sources of information will not, unless he be a reckless mind, venture upon a positive estimate. My knowledge of the stock Russian is limited, perhaps still more limited is my knowledge of Russian literature. I can, consequently, have only "impressions" upon the Russian, these impressions being gathered from a general knowledge of their history, the acquaintance and personal contact with a very few of them, and some casual glimpses into the nation's literature. With this caveat, I may feel free to say I cannot reconcile Plechanoff with my "impressions" of the Russian. Heinrich Heine said somewhere that there were two things he could not understand—how he and Jesus came to be Jews. I should say that at the Amsterdam Congress one thing forced itself upon me as un-understandable, to wit, how Plechanoff could be a Russian. The man's quickness of wit and action, aye, even his appearance, are so utterly French that I cannot square them with my "impressions" of the stock Russian, whom I conceive to be slow

in deciding, languorous in action. Two instances, culled from several minor ones, at Amsterdam, will illustrate the point.

Van Koll of the Holland delegation and chairman of the first day's session—he was subsequently and wisely made permanent chairman for all the sessions, so as to impart some degree of continuity to them—opened with a speech. Van Koll's speech sounded as he looks—dull and bovine. His face had no more expression while he spoke than a pitcher of water when the water is flowing out. Indeed, the only time during the whole Congress when I noticed an expression on his face was after he got through reeling off his speech, and Mrs. Clara Zetkin, of the German delegation, was rendering a German translation thereof. Mrs. Zetkin is the exact opposite of Van Koll. Dull and bovine as he is, she bubbles over with animal spirit. Into whatever she translated, even if it was a simple motion to adjourn, she threw the fire of thrilling, impassioned declamation. Of course she did so in translating Van Koll. A faint glimmer of expression suffused his broad and beefy, though good-natured, face. He looked at the lady sideways, and, no doubt wondering at the "bravoure" that she threw into the translation, looked as if he was thinking to himself: "Did I, really, get off all that?" No wonder he wondered. His speech was of the kind that Paul Singer, of the German Social Democracy, is usually set up to deliver when time and space are to be filled. It was soporific enough to set

almost any audience to sleep—let alone so large an audience, about 500 delegates, as the one that he faced, and barely one-third of which could at any one time understand the particular language that happened to be spoken. The Congress was giving distressing signs of listlessness when Plechanoff jumped to the rescue. He sat, as the third vice-chairman, at Van Koll's left with Katayama, the delegate from Japan, as the second vice-chairman, at Van Koll's right. Plechanoff had been watching for his chance. The moment it came he seized it. He rose, stretched his right arm across Van Koll's wide girth and took Katayama's hand. Katayama took the hint; he also arose and, symbolically, the Russian proletariat was shaking hands with their Japanese fellow wage slaves. It was a well thought demonstration, the work of a flash of genius. Apart from rousing the Congress from the languor it was drooping into, and driving it to frenzied applause, the handshake of Plechanoff and Katayama at that place was a pathetic rebuke to capitalism, whose code of practical morality was at the very hour being exemplified in the heaped up corpses of Russians and Japanese on the battlefields of Manchuria. It contrasted the gospel of practical humanity that Socialism is ushering into life, with the gospel of practical rapine that capitalism apotheosizes.

The second instance of Plechanoff's quickness of wit and action was one I already have referred to in my preliminary report. It was the assault he made in the committee upon the Adler-Vandervelde resolution, es-

pecially the part that attacked Adler. That part of Plechanoff's speech looked like a succession of forked tongues of lightning converging upon Adler's devoted head. It was a succession of French-witted epigrams, lashing what he called Adler's "doute systematique" (systematic doubt). The strokes went home so unerringly that Adler, phlegmatic though he is, found it necessary to ask the floor for an explanation, when the debate was over, and personal explanations were in order.

Apart from his brilliantly striking personality, Plechanoff's activity suggests a train of thoughts along a different line. The question takes shape, To what extent can a man in exile effect an overturn in the country that he is exiled from? That Anacharsis Klootz, the Hollander and exile, played an important part in a foreign country, France, during the French Revolution, is known. And there are more such instances. The question that rises to my mind is not what a role history has in store for a Plechanoff, a Russian exile, this side of the Vistula. The question is, Can one, long an exile from his own country, preserve such close touch with it as to become leadingly active in it at a moment's notice? "Emigrants" during troubled days proverbially become aliens from their own fatherland; when they return home they drop strangers among strange conditions. The instances of Bolivar in South America, Hobbes in England, Castelar in Spain, not to mention royalties without number, who, though long exiled, re-

turned home and led their parties to successful victories, may suggest the answer to the question posed above, were it not for the obvious differences between such uprisings and the social revolution in whose folds Plechanoff is active, and of whose weapons he is one of the titan forgers. In none of those other uprisings did the masses count; in all of them a minority class alone was interested, struck the keynote and furnished the music—with the masses only as deluded camp-followers. It is otherwise with the approaching Social Revolution. It is of the people, if it is anything. Can contact be kept with the people at a distance, any more than it can be kept with a distant atmosphere?

On the other hand, America, the country that many an observer of our times has detected to bear close parallel with Russia in more than one typical respect, remains to all intents and purposes an unknown land to Plechanoff. In a letter from Mrs. Corinne S. Brown, of Chicago—one of the delegates of the Socialist party at Amsterdam—to the Milwaukee *Social Democratic Herald,* the lady declares that the Congress was a "great revelation" to her, inasmuch as "it was surprising to note of how little importance the United States is among those continentals." The observation is correct. It includes Plechanoff. Thus, while the unwilling imperial cannon of Japan is signalling for a political revolution in autocratic Russia; while the capitalist system is making giant strides toward transforming the face of the Muscovite's realm; while here in America

capitalism, having reached its acme, is kicking over one by one the liberal ladders by which it climbed to the topmost rung, and has begun to swing back into absolutism via all the devious paths of popular corruption and political chicanery; while these events, big with results, are both noisily and noiselessly proceeding on their course toward a kissing point, raising Russia ever nearer to the American standard, and lowering America ever nearer to the Russian level;—in short, while this evolution is taking place Plechanoff is fatedly, and that unbeknown to himself, becoming more and more an alien in Russia, and at the same time, as to America, he probably has of the country no clearer idea than that it is a quarter from some quarter of which considerable funds flow toward the propaganda that he carries on.

Unless untimely death deprives the revolutionary movement of Europe of the services of this valiant paladin, the career of George Plechanoff promises to furnish an intensely interesting sociologic specimen, to which the historian of the future will turn his eyes for direction, for example and for scrutiny.

VI.

EMILE VANDERVELDE.

At the risk of having some friend of Vandervelde's hastily throw this article aside before reading to the end, I shall start with the broad side of the wedge.—Vandervelde is essentially a comedian.

This may seem an insult; it may seem derogatory to Vandervelde's unquestionable intellectual parts; it may seem a disparagement of his undeniable services, rendered to the cause of Socialism. It may seem all that. Yet it is not. None can really take offence but blind admirers. As to these—so much the worse for them.

The Rachels, the McCullochs, the Siddonses, the Booths, the Bernhardts, the Irvings, the Terrys, the Talmas, together with scores of others, have all been actors, yet they have enjoyed wide and deep respect, have evoked genuine admiration, have spurred to emulation. On the skirt on the picture of one of them a great artist gallantly wrote his name with the expression of the certainty that thus her skirt would raise him to immortality. When it is considered that one and all of these stars improved their powers with all the appliances and means to boot known to the tricks of the

stage;—when it is considered that skilful touches can impart chin to the chinless face; breadth to the straitened forehead; size to the gimlet eye; hair to the frayed skull; beard to the weak face; breadth of shoulder, depth of chest and roundness of limbs to the shaggy, the shallow of breast and the spindle-shanked;—when all this is considered and the fact is duly weighed that Vandervelde, even if he would, is deprived of recourse to such aids and expedients by the stage on which he stars, then the man's extraordinary histrionic powers cannot fail to evoke wonder, and the esteem he enjoys with many may be readily understood.

I have previously stated how Clara Zetkin, the translator into German, threw spirit and fire even into translations of tame routine matter, clean out of place. The lady is no artist. Vandervelde is; he is a consummate actor. The conclusion may not be warranted from his conduct when he speaks originally. The manner in which he operates his arms, the studied modulations of his voice, his peculiarity of stepping forward, then stepping back and posing—all these habits may be simply personal mannerisms. His talent as an actor appears when he translates. He translated several times from the German into French. A translator may with genuine naturalness put into his translation all the warmth of the original, provided the original expresses his own sentiments. When, however, the original's views are contrary to his own, when they even assail him, then, to reproduce the original with its original

fire is a feat of different category. Vandervelde accomplishes the feat. In his translations of even views that he does not share, he reproduces the vocal emphasis, the gestures, the stamping of feet, the flash of the eye, the pouting of lips, the puckering of brows—in short, all the emotions of the original, however hostile to himself. A speech translated by him does not lose in its rendition, however counter to his own sentiments. That is a gift, shared by few. I verily believe Vandervelde could reproduce a speech of even Jaures, including the streams of perspiration that trickle down Jaures' cheeks, or a speech of Guesde, including the rasping notes of Guesde's voice.

On Thursday, after the debate in the committee on international tactics was over, the Adler-Vandervelde resolution defeated, and the Dresden-Amsterdam resolution accepted, the committee proceeded to consider the procedure to be adopted before the full Congress. As stated in the second number of this series, Bebel was of the opinion that no further speeches or motions be allowed in the Congress. He, accordingly, moved that the committee submit to the Congress a condensed report of its transactions, that Vandervelde be the reporter, and that the Congress then take a vote. Bebel argued that Vandervelde himself, the co-mover of a defeated resolution, would be able to make an impartial report of the occurrences. Nobody objected to Vandervelde as the reporter, but numerous were the protests against applying the gag in the Congress. I, for

one, objected. Although not mean was the opinion I had been forming of Vandervelde's extraordinary ability as a conscientious actor, I was not ready to trust him with the stating of the attitude of the Socialist Labor Party, which I had represented in the committee, including my motion. For a moment Bebel forgot himself, and started to interrupt me, compelling me to notify him then and there that the Party I represented would not allow itself to be intimidated, and that the day would come when he would learn to appreciate the importance of the S. L. P. stand. Too well-meaning a man and too sensible withal to insist upon a false position, Bebel immediately subsided, and thus saved me the necessity of greater severity. Bebel's motion was materially altered. To make a long story short, it was decided that all the defeated motions, mine included, be submitted to the Congress, as they were; that they would all be incorporated in the report of Congress; finally, the movers of the several motions were to furnish Vandervelde with a synopsis of their arguments, and were not to speak unless dissatisfied with Vandervelde's report, each being himself the judge of whether he should be satisfied or not—a condition that I insisted upon. As stated in my preliminary report, I furnished Vandervelde with such a synopsis, but I took the precaution of causing my name to be inserted on the list of speakers by Troelstra, the chairman of the Friday session of the Congress, in case I found it necessary to supplement Vandervelde. I stood the eleventh on the

list. The table of the American delegation was away in the rear. On Friday, when the report of the committee was to be made, I sat forward at the table of the French comrades. Vandervelde made his report. It was then more than on any other occasion that the man displayed his matchless theatrical powers. He impersonated Bebel, he impersonated Guesde, he impersonated Jaures, he impersonated every mover and most of the speakers. He impersonated me, even quoting exactly some of my words. As I sat there watching the incredible performance, I mentally put to the actor this question: "How do you do it?"—I was satisfied, and so informed Troelstra, authorizing him to strike my name from the list. He also was still under the spell of admiration for what he termed Vandervelde's "great achievement." I agreed with him, and he shook my hand rapturously.

I have often wondered at the reasoning of people who condemn the stage as immoral—as having an immoral effect upon the audience. They condemn the actor, they pity the audience. The reasoning seems to me topsy-turvy. If there is immorality about the theater, the actor is the victim, the audience the victimizer. Can the human being who habitually simulates love and hatred, rapture and wrath, joy and sorrow—can such a being preserve the spontaneity of its own individuality? Is it not rather the actors who are sinned against by the audience that pays them for such self-immolation than they who debauch the audience by such spec-

tacle of suicide of individuality? I, for one, would never know when a great actor is in earnest. His handshake, his embrace, his utterances off the stage, cannot, meseems, be but affected by the simulation of his profession. The actor's habit once acquired, he seems to me perpetually on the stage. Nor can I resist the impression with regard to Vandervelde. In fact, his career bears me out. After the futile, even disastrous and certainly ill-advised Belgian general strike of a year and odd ago, Vandervelde boasted in the Belgian Parliament that, at his call, so and so many thousands of workingmen rose—they did and scattered as on the stage; noise, signifying nothing! So with the Adler-Vandervelde resolution: its fascination for Vandervelde was its stage parade. So, more recently, since the Congress, when, as a delegate of the Inter-parliamentary Union and Peace Conferences in this country, he could not only leave unprotested the eulogies to the spiked-police-club President Roosevelt, but could join in carrying them to the political head of the capitalist class—a comedy within a comedy! And so also did we see him here one day staging in public and declaiming for the Social Democratic party, on the plea of its being "Socialist," and the next day staging in public and declaiming for the anti-Socialist Gompers and his capitalist Civic Federation, on the plea of their being "friends of labor." Kautsky, as I stated in a previous article of this series, thought that he who speaks well likes to speak. Likewise, it may be said, he who acts

well loves a stage. With him it is, Anything for a stage; rather die than not to stage.

Off and on actors have contributed their share toward arousing the masses from lethargy and to action. But the actor's part on such occasion is merely subsidiary. A movement in which a Vandervelde is the most conspicuous figure cannot but lack the coherency of mature development. Every nationality follows its own course of detailed development. A Vandervelde is the product of the course that the Belgian movement happened to take. Clear as anything is the conclusion that, valuable though a Vandervelde may be in such a country, his conspicuousness denotes absence of seriousness in the movement. With greater maturity a movement grows serious, and then produces other leaders. The leader of the seriously revolutionary Belgian movement is yet to make his appearance.

VII.

ENRICO FERRI AND BULGARIA.

Unable to find among my notes the name of the Bulgarian delegate on the Committee on International Political Policy, whom I wish to consider in connection with Ferri of Italy, I shall herein designate him by the name of his country—Bulgaria.*

As is commonly known, there are two conflicting wings in the Socialist movement of Italy — the Ferri wing and the Turati wing, the former being considered the radical, the latter the opportunist element. The Italian delegation at Amsterdam was entirely Ferri-ist, indicative of the fact that the principles of the Ferri element are dominant in the Italian movement. Based upon this fact, together with its correlative, that there is no real split in the Socialist movement of Italy due to the tactfulness of both wings, Ferri made a scholarly speech at the committee.

He argued: Principle is an essential element to action; without principle action is worthless. On the

*The delegate's name was Christian Rokovsky. He is now Soviet Ambassador to France.

other hand, principle is inoperative without organization, and organization implies tactics or conduct. Accordingly, to declare correct principle and disregard its application is folly. The application of principle thus assumes prime importance after the principle is set up. Arrived at this point the real difficulty arises. Common experience, however, points the way. The captain who receives his sea-letters knows that he is to leave a certain port and make for a certain other. His sea-letters are his "principle." They determine the general direction of his motion. His tactics thereupon come into operation. What particular tactics he may observe from day to day, from hour to hour, cannot be dictated to him. They are in a general way dictated by his sea-letters: he may not adopt tactics that will head him for some other port in some other direction: but within the scope of such general directions, the details of his maneuvers must be left to him: he will choose them according to the exigencies of surrounding circumstances, and also according to the dictates of his temperament. What his sea-letters are to a captain, principle is to a Socialist movement. It tells us whence we come, and directs us whither to go. No more than in the case of the captain's sea-letters, does or can principle prescribe the details of action, the tactics, of a Socialist movement. They also depend upon the exigencies and accidents of the field, together with the temperament of those engaged in the movement. Summing up these thoughts, and expressing the apprehen-

sion that there was a tendency in the committee to precipitate a rupture, Ferri proceeded to reason as follows: Though different tactics may not be equally good, there is not, generally, any that is unqualifiedly bad from its inception. Herein lies the fatality of ruptures; a rupture fatedly drives the conflicting tactics further and further apart, further and further away from their own incipient element of soundness, until they both degenerate into extremes, into excesses, into caricatures of themselves. This is fatedly the result, and the result is ever fatal to the cause that they both hold close to their hearts. Hence, he said, his efforts in Italy to avoid a rupture, and his joy that his efforts were successful. That was the essence of Ferri's scholarly speech.—All of which is very true.

When the turn came to Bulgaria to speak, the delegate, a young and forceful man, grappled with Ferri's line of reasoning. Without rhetorical flourishes, but tersely and to the point, he argued: The experience in Bulgaria shows the folly of preventing a rupture between conflicting tactics. There had been two elements in the party. One believed in a clip and clear propaganda, and uncompromising tactics; the other believed in a policy of opportunism, of "cooperation of classes," of fusion, and of compromise — in short, of general radicalism. The two wings earnestly sought to compose their differences, and keep together. It was found impossible. Hours upon hours, meetings upon meetings were consumed with nothing but debates. The is-

sue was discussed from all viewpoints—scientific, theoretic, practical. The longer the discussion lasted, the tighter was the tangle. In the meantime agitation stood stock-still. Finally the rupture ensued. It was as if a nightmare was lifted from the Socialist chest. The time-consuming, nerve-racking polemics ended. Revolutionary Socialism regained its strength; its striking arm was free; it sailed in to do work. The straightforward agitation started. Instructive, because straight and uncompromising, literature sprang up. The work of propaganda began in good earnest. Since then real Socialist enlightenment has spread. Progress has been made.—All of which also is very true.

Ferri and Bulgaria, in juxtaposition, point to what I consider the one, if not the leading defect of these international congresses, as conducted by our continental comrades. The picture that the two, in themselves superb speeches condensed above, throw upon the canvas, is the picture of the mind that lacks evolutionary perspective. Each said a truth, but a truth applicable only to a certain stage of development, inapplicable to any other. In other words, they are truths that cannot stand abreast of each other. They rank in successive order in the evolutionary scale.

It is undoubtedly true, as Ferri stated, that two opposing tactics may each have an element, a starting point of soundness; that, for the sake of saving those elements of soundness to the movement, rupture should be avoided; whereas rupture has fatedly for its effect

the driving of the ruptured tactical elements to such extremes from their own premises that they become self-destructive. True; but the evolutionary stage, where such a policy of conciliation is possible, always presupposes a previous stage. It presupposes the stage where the clash of conflict has pounded to dust the heavy incrustations of error that tactics, often the best of them, first make their appearance in. The indispensable preparatory work of clarification having been gone through during that previous stage, a country's movement is then, and not before, ripe to enter into the next evolutionary stage, the stage that Ferri had in mind. Consequently, it is also undoubtedly true, as Bulgaria stated, that opposing tactics, held together, only palsy the movement's march; that time and energy, needed for agitation, are wasted in irreconcilable polemics; and that only rupture can set the movement a-going. Again, true enough, but, as explained above, true only of an earlier evolutionary stage than that which Ferri had to deal with in Italy; true only of the evolutionary stage that Bulgaria had just been experiencing. At the earlier stage rupture is an element of progress; at the second, harmony. Of the truth of this synthesis the movement in America has had, and is still having striking proof.

Here, two conflicting policies were wrestling in the Socialist camp. The one was called "narrow," the other "broad." As terms of distinction, though not of demarcation, the two names will do as well as any

other. The issue was essentially one of organization. It took two external manifestations—one on the Party's attitude toward the trade unions, the other on the Party's attitude toward reformers. The two manifestations finally merged into one—the trade union policy. In the language of Bulgaria, the dispute palsied the movement's work. It lasted nearly nine years, from 1890 to 1899. In the end the opposing elements were as two spent swimmers, that cling together and choke their art. They broke away. Rupture ensued. It was inevitable. No amount of purpose would have brought it on; no amount of "wisdom" could have prevented it. The movement had entered upon the evolutionary stage described by Bulgaria. The clarifying conflict, the conflict without which clarification is not possible, was in the evolutionary cards. It broke out, and progress, the progress of clarification, immediately set in. Each side, the Socialist Labor Party and its rival, that sprang into being with the rupture, developed its practical principle unhampered. If there be any grain of help to the Socialist Revolution in the policy of not exposing a Gompers, a Mitchell, a McGuire or any of the leading labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, caught red-handed in their crimes, lest "offence be given" to their duped rank and file; or in the policy of not awakening the Socialist conscience against unions that deliberately exclude members of their trade so as to keep the shrinking jobs to themselves, and thus rip the working class in twain; or in the policy of not turning

the X-rays upon strikes that are instigated by competing capitalists against each other, and are to be dropped the moment the capitalist "agent provocateur" has gained his purpose, or that fakers incite and keep up for the sake of strike jobs that the bleeding rank and file is taxed out of; or of echoing the cry of "Scab!" raised by scab-breeders against their victims; or in the policy of tolerating as "Socialist," addresses and articles on subjects that are no part of working class demands; or in the policy of shutting the eye to dickers and deals with the bourgeois politicians; or in the policy of encouraging the insolence of the presumptuous, —all for the sake of general propitiation and of votes; in short, if—upon the theory that there always is some virtue even in the deepest-dyed villain—any grain of help to the Socialist Revolution should lie concealed in such a policy; and, on the other hand, if—upon the theory, again, that there always is some vice even in the most angelic man—any grain of harm to the Social Revolution should lie hidden in the opposite policy, the conflict will bring out both. Pounded between the upper and the nether millstone of the S. L. P. and its rival, whatever incrustation of serious error either's policy is coated with will be ground to dust and blown to the wind. Then will the movement in America enter upon the evolutionary stage of harmony, and it will be in condition to do so only because it passed through the purging evolutionary stage of rupture—two distinct evolutionary stages, that, being successive and not sim-

ultaneous, reject identical treatment, as our continental comrades seek to administer.

At this place it will be aidful to the point under consideration to refer to the resolution that I presented in the name of the S. L. P. for the repeal of the Kautsky resolution, and which was given in full in my preliminary report. A continental comrade, who witnessed the transactions of the committee, amusedly remarked to me that the effect of the S. L. P. resolution was like that of a stone thrown into a puddle—all the frogs leap up. Nothing was further removed from the comrade's mind than to express contempt for his European fellows. It was only a witty way of describing a scene, of portraying a frame of mind. The witticism indicates the light in which the S. L. P. resolution was looked at. And that is the point. In point of fact the S. L. P. resolution was the most moderate and conservative of all those presented. By expressly stating what is unallowable in "fully developed capitalist countries, like America," in contradistinction with "countries not yet wholly freed from feudal institutions," the S. L. P. resolution avoided the one-sidedness of both the Ferri and the Bulgarian stands. It took cognizance of the different stages of development that the several nationalities are now in, and thereby it avoided the error of uniform treatment for different evolutionary stages of different societies. The false habits of thought of our continental comrades caused them to disregard the soundness of poise of the S. L. P. resolu-

tion; while, unconsciously acting obedient to another and equally false yet with most of them habitual notion, they were startled at the idea of America presuming to condemn point blank the production of Kautsky, one of their own! In their international congresses America is not supposed to fill any role other than that of wall-flower.

As in the sky the star-world reveals to us formations in various stages of development, from the nebulous, the half-formed and up to the full-orbed luminary; as in the woods specimens are seen from the tender sapling up to the wide-branched monarch of the forests; as all around us humanity teems with individuals at different stages of growth from the infant up to the robust adult,—so likewise in the firmament of nations different societies are today moving in different evolutionary epochs. And, just as in the astronomic, the botanic and the human instances, a knowledge of the lower evolutionary stage aids in understanding whither the higher tends, so with the different Socialist movements of today. It is positive as aught can be that but one party of Socialism will eventually be seen in Bulgaria or America, as is substantially seen in Italy today. The evolutionary stage of harmony is as inevitable a stage as that of adult growth from infancy—provided life continues; and, just as in manhood, the evolutionary stage of rupture is the inevitable precursor of unity —the unity in which, full scope being allowed for the differences in temperament unavoidable in mass move-

ments, the individual units are held together by a double bond: the bond of principle and that of tactics purged of error by experience.

It is the leading fault of these international congresses, as conducted by our continental comrades, that they proceed upon the Procrustean principle. They seek to fit movements of unequal evolutionary size into beds of equal length or shortness. The result is confusion. Men who push resolutions inapplicable to all nations, fatedly invite sophistical arguments to escape the result of their own ill-thought decrees. The Kautsky resolution of 1900 was an instance in point; the Dresden-Amsterdam resolution is no exception—as I shall presently show.

VIII.

THE DRESDEN-AMSTERDAM RESOLUTION.

The Munich *Fliegende Blaetter* once had a cartoon representing a scene in the office of a parish priest in Southern Germany. The priest, rotund and benevolent looking, sat in his arm-chair sympathetically facing a female parishioner, a peasant woman standing before him. The woman bore the marks of recent severe handling. Her head was bandaged; so were both her arms; and under her short skirt a bandaged leg was to be seen. She must have been complaining to the father that her husband had given her a beating. The father must have addressed to her some words of consolation, and admonition to patience. The cartoon bore only one sentence; it was the woman's answer: "Die Frau soll und muss gepruegelt werden, aber der verdammte Kerl uebertreibt es!" (The wife should and must be beaten, but the devil of a fellow carries the thing too far!) That woman's frame of mind on the subject of conjugal relations portrays exactly the frame of mind of the German Social Democracy toward Jauresism,—

they do not object to the idea, only the devil of a fellow carries the thing too far.

The Lay of the Land in Europe.

More than once in the course of this serial, and very much in full in the "Review of the Dresden Congress,"* I have pointed out the special socio-political condition that the bulk of the European continent finds itself in—indeed, the whole of the continent, France conspicuously excepted. Suffice it here to repeat that, with the bulk of the continent, although portions of the capitalist body are everywhere seen evolved, nowhere is the evolution complete; in some places the evolution is further advanced, in others backward: in all capitalist society is still more or less enveloped in the warp of the feudal cocoon. Thus one and all present the phenomenon of two ruling classes, hence also political systems, simultaneously in existence: the older, the feudal, still dominant, thanks to the "vis inertiæ" of precedence; the younger, the capitalist, pressingly assertive, thanks to its latent power of ultimate ascendancy. In countries so circumstanced the "cooperation of classes," as the term now runs, is not excluded. Its tactful application may even be a source of positive solace for the proletariat. The classic instance of Great Britain, so oft cited, need but be referred to. One time the feudal lord, as an offensive measure in

*See Add. M.

his struggle with the capitalist, another time the oncoming capitalist, as an offensive measure against feudality, backed up the interests of the bottom class, the proletariat. For the "cooperation of classes," which means the cooperation of a ruling class with the proletariat, the social phenomenon is requisite of the simultaneous existence of two ruling classes, systems, of distinct type and successive eras. It is obviously a transitional period, offering transitional opportunities. The instant the elder of the two systems is supplanted by the younger, the transitional opportunities are at an end. Germany, although the most advanced, capitalistically, of all the continental nations that are found in that transitional stage, and being the most powerful of all, but typifies the rest. It goes without saying that, at least theoretically, Jauresism, that is, the "cooperation of classes," cannot choose but be sympathetic to Germany, together with the rest of the continental nations of whom Germany is the type, and of whose sentiments Germany gives fullest expression. Nor is the theory unsupported by practice and positive evidence. It is a fact not to be overlooked or underrated that at the Paris Congress of 1900, the Kautsky resolution being under discussion, Auer, the spokesman of the German delegation, supported the resolution saying: "True enough, a Millerand case has not yet arisen among us (in Germany); we are not yet so far; but I hope we may reach the point at the earliest day possible." And the words of Auer were applauded to the echo without

a dissenting voice from the German delegation, or the rest of the continental nations that have Germany as their fugleman. Ministerialism, the "cooperation of classes," Jauresism, in short, was sympathized with by all; it was admired and looked forward to as a desideratum.

For reasons that are exactly the reverse of the medal of which the German position is the obverse, the French Socialist elements that are now organized in the "Parti Socialiste de France" (Socialist party of France) had and have neither approval nor admiration for Jauresism. For it they justly have unqualified condemnation only. The very socio-political reasons that justify the "cooperation of classes" in countries circumstanced as Germany, reject it in countries circumstanced as France. In France—as in America, together with the rest of the English-speaking world in general—the transitional phenomenon of the simultaneous existence of two ruling classes of distinct type and successive eras is absent. In France—as in America, together with the rest of the English-speaking world in general—feudality has been wiped out, or remains only as a vanishing "trace"; capitalism thrones with undisputed sway. The elements now constituting the Socialist party of France resisted with might and main the proposed Kautsky resolution. Yet were they overwhelmingly snowed under. The only organization of importance that stood by them was the Socialist Labor Party of America. Even the delegation from more

advanced Great Britain joined in full the procession of the less advanced continental states. The revolutionary Socialists of France came beaten out of the Paris Congress of 1900. Jauresism came out with flying colors.

Sentiment As a Force.

So far I have pursued the inquiry only along the strictly social and political line. Another line of inquiry must now be taken up. Movements are made up of men, and man is "flesh and blood, and apprehensive." To expect of him that he rise wholly above the foibles of his nature is to expect of him what he may not be. Well may he say he "dares do all that may become a man, who dares do more is none." The German Social Democracy, meaning thereby its managing powers, is a human agency. As such it is of the earth, not of the New Jerusalem. TO THE GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF FRANCE IS UNSYMPATHETIC. Free as America's happy location makes us, I need not write under the diplomatic restraint that the closely dove-tailing geography of the European nations forces upon the Socialists of the several European nationalities. The lukewarmness in the affection for the Socialist party of France entertained by the German Social Democracy is a psychologic phenomenon of vastly deeper bearing than merely philosophic curiosity. It also has its bearing upon us in America, and, along with us, upon the

English-speaking world at large. While the phenomenon flows from, it supplements the difference in the status between France, on the one side, and the rest of the continental states, on the other. Jointly the two forces illumine the field in a manner that neither could alone.

While undoubtedly prizing, the genius of the German Social Democracy feels rebuked by the Socialist party of France. Although vastly surpassing the latter in point of membership, in point of the extent of press facilities, in point of financial resources and, last not least, in point of the public-eye-filling vote, the latter's clear-as-a-pike, soundly poised, brilliantly unbending and unterrifiable Marxist posture disturbs the equanimity of its German cousin. The phenomenon can be explained only upon the general principle that man usually feels sore at others when he is sore at himself. That the distinguished leaders of the German Social Democracy should feel sore at themselves is, paradoxical though the opinion may sound, as inevitable a fact as it is groundless. Why should they? Truth is that which fits all the facts in the case. The German Social Democracy is true. Its conduct fits the facts that surround it. It is doing, not merely the best that it is able to do, but the very best that the circumstances allow. That best, however, is not up to the standard of the Socialist party of France. No blame can attach to the German Social Democracy on that score, any more than praise for superior inherent virtue can be the meed

of the Socialist party of France. It is no inherent quality in the river that flows through the chain of our great lakes that it displays the superb panorama of the cascade of Niagara; nor is it an inherent defect in the waters that pour down the eastern slopes of the Rockies that their course is accompanied by the humbler river-swamps of the Missouri and Mississippi valleys. Rivers, true enough geology teaches, shape their own beds. But that is only a finality. At the start, their course and aspect are predetermined by the solid mass that happens around them. The stream of the German Social Democracy is indeed making its bed, that tributary bed to the eventual international network of river beds through which the floods of an emancipated proletariat, the emancipated human race, will rush their fruition-full billows. Until then, however, the course and aspect of the German Social Democratic stream are predetermined by the set of existing solid facts, none of which it can be held responsible for, and through which it is forced to wear its way — identically as are predetermined the course and aspect of the stream of the Socialist party of France by the more favorable circumstances that it, in turn, is as little to be credited for. Groundless, accordingly, is the secret sense of soreness at themselves on the part of the German Social Democratic leaders.

Yet the soreness is inevitable. The circumstance that the founder of Socialist science—the author of Socialist theory, "Capital," and of Socialist tactics,

"The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte"—was born in Germany and wrote in German has exercised so preponderating an influence upon the general mind, the public mind, that the opinion one time was, and is not yet worn out, that Socialism is essentially a German product, indigenous in and applicable only to Germany. The well-known and droll anecdote related about Zola in this connection will naturally suggest itself to all.* The important circumstances, that the founder of Socialist science had his wit whetted in France, and that it was in still a third country, England, that he gathered his facts and from whose shores he launched his two great works, easily go unperceived. Inestimable as was Marx's early German training, it was not all-sufficient; far from it. In fact, since Aristotle's, Marx's is the only universal mind the human race has produced. The science reared by such a genius is, of course, universal. For all that, it would be "doing more than may become a man" were the foremost elements of Germany, now gathered in the German Social Democracy, not to feel a special pride in Marx, aye, to claim him as their own, the gift of the German nation to the world. If to this the further circumstance is coupled that it was in Germany that the teachings of Marx first took the crystal-

*The story is told that Zola, seeing a German friend with a copy of Marx's "Capital," said: "I couldn't read such a book. The gothic type is an abomination to my eyes." The friend thereupon opened the book and held it up to the startled gaze of Zola—"Capital" having been printed in England is not in gothic but in Latin type.

lized form of a movement, of a political party, then the inevitableness of the present sense of soreness at themselves on the part of the German Social Democratic leaders becomes as obvious as it was shown to be groundless. It is a sentiment that cannot choose but spring up in men whose own movement, starting with as clear-as-a-pike Marxist posture as today distinguishes the Socialist party of France on the continent, was, nevertheless, constrained by the "force majeure" of imperative circumstances temporarily to deflect its pristine course, and pursue the river bed that the surrounding boulders of still lingering feudalism predetermined for it.

A sentiment so natural, however deplorable, is, with men of knowledge and character, such as the leaders of the German Social Democracy, kept under the self-imposed control that character and knowledge equip a man withal. With men lacking both character and knowledge the sentiment runs riot. It is in its manifestation of riot-running that the German phenomenon under consideration has its bearing upon us in America, as also in Australia and Great Britain—the English-speaking world at large, and that it injuriously reacts back upon the German fatherland of the riot-runners abroad. The German Socialist of intelligence and character in Great Britain, Australia or America finds the grief of his expatriation soothed by the thought that, at least, his lot has cast him into a country whose social and political institutions are so

much further advanced that they afford opportunities for the untrammeled development of Marxism. The German Socialist, on the contrary, of neither intelligence nor character, in the English-speaking world, grieves all the more thereat. The former is found enthusiastically active in the Socialist Labor Parties of these countries; the latter entertains for these parties envious, vindictive malice. Whatever energy he displays is to keep the Socialist movement back, lest—oh, horror!—it outclass the movement in Germany. It is no idle digression to pursue this aspect of the subject a little more in detail.

At Amsterdam Bebel told of a conversation he had with Marx and Engels in London. Having expressed to them his astonishment at the backwardness of the movement in Great Britain, despite the country's advantages and their own unquestioned influence upon their surroundings, he was answered: "Indeed, things would be different here, were not the British capitalists so peskily shrewd: they deaden the labor movement by corrupting its leaders!" Marx and Engels, as Bebel pointed out, placed their finger on the baneful influence of the "cooperation of classes" in Great Britain. This notwithstanding, Edward Bernstein—the revisionist—when he was in England, and M. Beer — the anti-revisionist poser—who is still in England, have been and ever are seen in full sympathy with every move in Great Britain that has the "cooperation of classes" as its silent or avowed guiding principle. The fact of "la-

bor" members of Parliament being elected on Tory and Liberal tickets won their admiration; and the more recent, more extensive and more brazen application of the "cooperation of classes," as manifested by the "Labor Representation Committee" movement, has received their unstinted applause. Nor did and do these gentlemen omit to emphasize their posture by coordinate conduct. While praiseful in their correspondence to the German Social Democratic press of all manifestations of the "cooperation of classes" in Great Britain, they had and have disapproval only for all opposite manifestations. These they either slur, or seek to smother with silence. Whatever luminous interval the otherwise muddle-headed British Social Democratic Federation has experienced they decried; and that most significant event of modern days in the history of the British movement, the birth and rise of the British Socialist Labor Party, in final revolt and declared war against the infamy of the but too long continued "cooperation of classes" in Great Britain, is as if it were not—for all that the contributions of the Bernsteins and Beers from London to the German Social Democratic press contain on the subject.

If anything, still more pronounced is the phenomenon in Australia. In that island-continent is a "Labor party" corner-stoned on the "brotherhood of capital and labor," in other words, guided by the principle of the "cooperation of classes." The party elects several of its candidates to the Australian Parliament. Recent-

ly the bourgeois ministry fell, due to a conflict between the free trade and the protection wings of capital. The country's executive and direct representative of the British Crown thereupon picked out a member of the Labor party contingent in the parliament, bestowed upon him the premiership, and invited him to form a new ministry. The gift was accepted; the request was granted; and a "labor ministry," composed of laborites and bourgeois, was empaneled—by the grace of a bourgeois overlord. The performance was an exhibition of the "cooperation of classes" upon a stage more conspicuous and a scale more vast than any hitherto tried. Connected with the Australian Labor party is a loosely shaped body that rejoices in the name of "Social Democratic Federation," and which, of course, draws to itself the class of expatriated Germans under consideration. Through these the press of the German Social Democracy—from the Berlin *Vorwaerts* and *Neue Zeit* down—forthwith began to teem with exuberant articles on the Australian occurrence. One of these articles even flourished the jubilant headline, "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat." While thus rejoicing, the articles either wholly ignored the existence in Australia of a sound, uncompromising, militant Socialist Labor Party which was polling its full 25,000 votes, or made only casual allusions to it, suppressing its electoral strength, even mutilating its name. Thus the spectacle was presented of Bebel storming at Dresden and carrying the convention with impassioned assaults upon the

THEORY of the "cooperation of classes," while simultaneously the German Social Democratic press was misled by its German agents abroad into singing pæans for the PRACTICE of the "cooperation of classes"! Thus the bizarre spectacle was seen of denunciations for one Millerand in France to the orchestration of praises for a whole batch of Millerands in Australia!

Finally, in America, the same phenomenon manifests itself in downright repulsive form. The noisy victories of Japan on the battlefields of Manchuria have so taken the world by surprise that we are all apt to forget that much of that which we wonder at in Japan America presents upon a manifold larger scale. America's development within the short span of its barely 130 years of independent life is unmatched. Coupled, moreover, with the circumstance of the veritably boundless area over which the development crept and leaped, the social growth of America presents aspects that could be presented under no other circumstances, hence are nowhere else to be seen. Important as these aspects are to a general study of sociology, to the proper understanding of the country, and to the subject in hand, I shall not here take them up. They were set forth in the Socialist Labor Party's report to the Amsterdam Congress.* Suffice it here to point to a certain summary. While in small, thickly settled and old France, Jauresism is a Utopian vision of the future, in young,

* See Add. K.

broad-acred and hardly explored America Jauresism is a recollection of the past—a past that, in point of distance of development, lies far in the rear, but that, in point of time, lies close behind, with a tradition still warm with the glow of inspiration, and that the country's youth still steadily revives. The theory of the "co-operation of classes" is, in America, a fatal delusion that the course of American development most naturally raises before the popular mind. It is the Marxist's duty as firmly to set his face against and expose it. The unintelligent and dishonorable German Socialist in America promotes the illusion here as his compeers do in Great Britain and Australia. Moreover, here, more so than elsewhere, his deportment is marked with unconcealed dislike, even hatred for the land and its people, arrogantly demanding acquiescence with his views as the proconsul in America of an imaginary Socialist hierarchy in Germany. Adolf Hepner, the fellow-prisoner of Liebknecht, said to me in his editorial room of the St. Louis *Tageblatt* on the afternoon of Monday, the 27th of April, 1891: "The difficulty I notice here in America is that the Germans who are loudest in their claims of Socialist knowledge are the ones most ignorant on the subject. The German workingman who has come over with some knowledge of the subject goes about unassumingly. But a set of Germans, who, if they were to find themselves in Germany, would not dare to make even their existence known in the councils of the party, are here the most loud-mouthed

and pretentious. They know even less of the country than they know of Socialism. They do not understand what they see or hear. They get everything mixed up. Vaingloriously seeking to exhibit themselves in the plumage of Socialism, they encourage by joining positive absurdities (Albernheiten). Thus we have seen them join hands with the Greenbackers. They hurt the prospects of Socialism here, they throw disrepute upon the German movement, and they mislead public opinion in Germany. As anxious as they are to cut a figure here, they are still more anxious to be thought at home to be cutting a figure in America. Of course they are corrupt. A despicable crew (Elendiges Gesindel)." In saying this, Hepner was speaking of his experience in New York mainly, and was illustrating his points with the New Yorker Volkszeitung Corporation in general, its Herman Schlueters and Alexander Jonases in particular—the identical head-center that presumptuously declares: "We Germans speak from above down" (Wir Deutschen sprechen von oben herab); that is seen today seconding the "cooperation of classes," as manifested by American Jauresism, yclept "American Federation of Labor," or "Socialist," "Social Democratic," "Public Ownership" party; that but recently, as in the instance of the brewery workers, and as so often before, in other instances was convicted of "cooperating with the classes" to the point of selling out the workers for advertisements; and, finally, that, like its confreres in England and Australia, furnishes

its own country with false information only. They all imagine they are upholding their country's policy; in fact they but caricature the same. When the sentiments and thoughts of superior men fall into the hands of little folks a mess is the inevitable result.

Convergence of Moving Springs.

The social, political and psychological moving springs of the Social Democracy in Germany that lead to such riot-running excesses abroad are, however well under the control of superior men at home, not wholly without their regrettable manifestations even there. For instance:

I was at the International Congress of Zurich, held in 1893. France was represented only by the wildcat Allemanists, with Alleman himself as the leading figure. I met in Zurich not one of the leading men in the Socialist movement of France. None attended. They did not because they could not. And they could not because their own national electoral campaign coincided with the date of the Congress, and, as was known in Zurich, the German contingent had declined to postpone or advance the date of the Congress in accommodation of the French. Nevertheless, when eleven years later the date of the International Congress to be held at Amsterdam in 1903 collided with the national electoral campaign of Germany, the date of that year's Congress was, upon motion of Singer, unceremoniously postponed a full twelve months.

Again, and of still deeper meaning: Within four days of the opening of the Amsterdam Congress; at the very season when the Socialist party of France was holding its own national convention at Lille; when the party was furnishing Europe proof positive of the solidity and growth of its organization;—at that season the Berlin *Vorwaerts* published a correspondence from France belittling the body, while claiming to befriend it. The correspondence laid emphasis upon the "influential press" of the Jauresists, suppressing the fact that the press's "influence" was wholly due to the support it received from the Combes ministry; the correspondence exaggerated the power of attraction exercised by the Jauresists upon the liberal-minded workmen; the correspondence summed up in dark colors the prospects of what is the Socialist party of France. Nor has this spirit of latent animosity ceased since the Amsterdam Congress. Since then I notice that Guesde has felt constrained to correct in the Berlin *Vorwaerts* more recent false statements that have since then appeared in the *Vorwaerts* against him and the Socialist party of France, and that proceeded from the paper's correspondent in Paris.

It goes without saying that the attitude of the German Social Democracy finds ready imitators on the continent in the quarters that Germany typifies. So ready was the imitation in the instance of the pre-Amsterdam Congress correspondence from Paris to the Berlin *Vorwaerts,* that two days before the opening of the

Congress—on Friday, August 12—while the city was filling up with the delegates from all parts of the world, *Het Volk,* the Socialist daily of Amsterdam, quoted the *Vorwaerts* correspondence, and, catching its spirit, improved it with lengthy comments to the effect that "sad is the plight of the Socialist party of France"; that "the French workingmen in overwhelming majority are lining up with Jaures"; that "the mass of the Socialist workers are siding, not with Guesde, but with Jaures"; that "the Guesde party is losing ground"; etc., etc.;—all the exact reverse of the facts. The article of *Het Volk*—a paper published in the very city where the International Congress was within two days of being held, a paper issued by the very organization that had charge of the Congress—was in the nature of an open address. It was an official manifesto.

French Socialist Tactics.

The wound inflicted upon the vanguard of the international Socialist movement at the Paris Congress of 1900 was deep. It was felt even in the United States. Here, however, thanks to the country's advantage of location, the evil effect of the Kautsky resolution could and was readily resisted and overcome by the Socialist Labor Party. Otherwise in France. Her continental location and compulsorily intimate interrelation with nations politically less advanced than herself, unavoidably render her deeply sensitive to their conduct. The problem presented to the revolutionary Socialists of

France at the close of the Paris Congress of 1900 was of prime magnitude, and thorny was the path before them. The mere overthrow at home of Jauresism would have been a Pyrrhic victory. Such is the lay of the land in Europe that the rest of the continental nations are main-body to the army of which France is the head of the column. As such, no more than the head of a column on the military field of battle, could France afford—either for her own safety or for the safety of the main body—to march too far ahead, perchance disconnected from the rest of the European Socialist army. Accordingly, two things were simultaneously essential to success—the overthrow of Jauresism at home, and also the disgusting of the rest of the European continent, Germany especially, with their ugly pet: the shaming them into withdrawing their support from the abortion. Indeed, the two things resolved themselves into one, the former being predicated upon the latter. The revolutionary French Socialists now reorganized in the Socialist party of France, rose at the crisis equal to the occasion, and they pursued their policy with a tactfulness and strategy, that, even had it proved unsuccessful, would have deserved admiration and emulation. Crowned as it was with final success at Amsterdam, it constitutes a brilliant page in the annals of triumphant Socialist genius.

The same instinct that moved, and thought that guided, the Socialist Labor Party of America in its tactics against the variously named Jauresistic eruption in

this country, presided over the councils of the Socialist party of France in the campaign that it conducted against essentially the self-same article at home. There are evils, like diseases, that may not be checked: they must be allowed to run their course. To check them is to scotch, not kill the snake. They must rather be poulticed into ripening to a head. It is the tactics known in the field of mathematics or of logic by the name of the "reductio ad absurdum"—the demonstration of error by pointing to the absurd conclusion that it leads to. On the field of society the error, or absurdity, must be helped along; lashed, if possible, to the point of its own unveiling. When in this country the counterpart of the French Jauresist movement—here assuming the various and successive names of "Social Democracy Colonization," or "Socialist," "Public Ownership," "Social Democratic" party—put in its appearance, the Socialist Labor Party's steadily pursued and triumphant tactics were to lash the error into its own logically absurd results. Thus, one year, it was lashed to exhibit whither one aspect of its policy—currying favor for Socialism by acting as a candle-holder for the "labor lieutenants" of the capitalist class—logically led to, by driving it to vote for a Gompers at New Orleans, and the next year forcing it to exhibit the futility of the same policy by driving it to set up its own candidate against Gompers at Boston, and thereby itself uncover, through its trifling poll, the hollowness of the "Socialist" support striven for by such methods. Thus, at other times, it

was lashed to exhibit whither another aspect of its policy—fusing on economics with the middle class—inevitably led to, by driving it to fuse with middle class and other capitalist candidates on politics also. Thus, again, it was lashed to exhibit still another aspect of its policy —fraternization with Gompers unionism—by driving it to approve of the guild methods of such organizations, and forthwith driving it to turn a somersault back, and seek to wash its hands of the smut that stuck to them, the moment the practical results were held up of the base betrayal of the dearest principle of labor, SOLIDARITY, that guild practices rend in shreds. Another time it was lashed to exhibit what that other aspect of its policy—laxity of organization—comes to, by driving it, on the one hand, to exhibit the sight of a discordant mob, holding different views in different latitudes and longitudes, and on the other, to submit abjectly to the yoke of a privately owned "party press." And so forth, and so on. Thus the Socialist Labor Party in America against Jauresism here. The identical tactics—pursued, however, upon the vastly more difficult, because more slippery, field of parliamentarism, and having, moreover, a vastly wider aim, being intended to mature the necessary fruit beyond the borders of France herself, in the unsympathetic sister states of the Continent—did the Socialist party of France take up against Jauresism at home.

Jaures, more than once at Amsterdam, twitted the Socialist party of France with being in a state of "cata-

leptic rigidity." The reproach must have had a bad taste on Jaures' own lips. Jaures is too keen a man to have failed to realize—at least from the tone of his secret sympathizers and now unwilling opponents from other parts of Europe—that it was to that very "cata-leptic rigidity" of his adversaries at home that he owed his impending downfall at the International Congress. What Jaures termed the "cataleptic rigidity" of the Socialist party of France was a posture of such uncompromising soundness that it had upon him all the effect of a goad. Levity never becomes more frivolous than when confronted with gravity. Utopianism, being unbalanced, is mercurial. Its own inherent law of being drives it to act obedient to the maxim that the wise Ulysses set up for the empty-pated Achilles—"things that move do sooner catch the eye than what not moves." Of itself condemned to eye-catching pyrotechnics, the "cataleptic rigidity" of the soundly poised Socialist party of France drove Jauresism adown the inclined plane at the bottom of which it was to dash itself: pricked it from cover, where it might be misunderstood, into the open, where it would stand exposed. From being at first only silently passive at the idea of a Millerand, a reputed Socialist, in close ministerial intercourse with a Galliffet, the butcher of the Commune; from subsequently seeking to ignore the responsibility of Millerand for the ministerial acts of the slaughter of the Chalon and the Martinique workingmen on strike;—from such seemingly slight beginnings,

Jauresism presently rushed headlong down its course. It extenuated Millerand's actions; boisterously upheld them; earned the praises, even a decoration from the Muscovite autocrat, that monstrosity of our days that combines the reckless blood-thirstiness of the barbarian with the vices and hypocritical pretences of civilization. It went further. It accepted for Jaures himself, at the hands of bourgeois deputies, a vice-presidency in the Chambers. It went still further. It merged into a bourgeois ministerial "bloc"; turned its press into semi-official mouthpieces of a subsequent wholly bourgeois ministry; and, finally, it capped the climax by voting the ministerial budget, the appropriations for the army and navy included!—"The devil of a fellow" had, decidedly, "carried the thing too far"; yet not an inch further than his premises fatedly led to, or that the safety of the Socialist movement needed. The "cataleptic rigidity" of the Socialist party of France had goaded Jauresism to exhibiting in the noontide glare the logical consequences of the "cooperation of classes" in countries wholly freed from feudal trammels, countries where the only classes extant are the capitalist plunderer and the plundered workingman.

The Socialist party of France had accomplished the principal point in its program. It had driven Jaures to where his supporters outside of France could not choose but be ashamed of his political company. At Amsterdam, as narrated in the flashlight "Jules Guesde," Guesde declared his party disclaimed any

purpose of "seeking international aid for itself in the internal strifes of the movement at home." The declaration must not be looked into too closely. It is hard accurately to determine the point where the "seeking of international aid in internal strifes at home" ends, and the laming of outside support to a home foe begins. The Socialist party of France lamed the support that Jaures had so far openly enjoyed from beyond the French frontier. How effectively the laming was done transpired at the Dresden national convention of the German Social Democracy, held in 1903. What now remained to do was to clinch the advantage. That was done at the French national convention of Reims. At the Paris International Congress of three years before, the revolutionary French Socialists voted emphatically against the Kautsky resolution. At Reims they stooped to conquer. It mattered not that the resolution adopted at the immediately preceding Dresden convention embodied the Kautsky resolution, let it in by a back door. The important fact, the one fact that the Socialist party of France kept its eyes fixed upon was the language, the tone of the language to the tune of which the Dresden resolution was adoptd. The tone denied the Kautsky resolution—the international, official prop of Jauresism. The Reims convention adopted the Dresden resolution* with only such verbal changes as were obviously necessary, and forthwith forwarded it to the

*See Add. C.

International Bureau at Brussels as the motion on international tactics that the Socialist party of France would offer at the next year's Amsterdam Congress. The move was like the tying of a knot to a string of beads. There was no chance allowed for backsliding. The support of Germany could not slip; and, with Germany, the continental states that follow in her train were considered secured. After that there remained nothing to do but to glean at Amsterdam the fruit of the intellectual alertness that could plan, pursue and execute such brilliant tactics, such masterly strategy.

At Amsterdam.

The posture, mental—I would almost say physical, also—of the peasant woman in the story that I opened this flashlight with, was the posture at Amsterdam of all the continental nations whose social and political backwardness renders Jauresism palatable. The distressed peasant woman of the story can well be imagined in a paroxysm of rage toward the fellow who had so severely handled her, and yet be full of love and affection, aye, even veneration for him. Such conflicting sentiments necessarily react on each other. On the one hand, her love, affection and veneration could not choose but dull the edge of her resentment. On the other hand, in equal measure with her love, affection and veneration, her rage would be sharpened at the abuse of a right before which she bowed in reverence. Such was the psychology at Amsterdam. It ex-

plains how none—excepting, of course, the representatives of the Socialist party of France—dared condemn him as unqualifiedly as he deserved. It explains how all—Rosa Luxemburg and Plechanoff joined to the European exception—had some good word for him, some even bouquets to mitigate the smart of their tongue-lashings. It explains the weakness of Bebel's speech. Finally, it explains the adoption of the Dresden-Amsterdam resolution and the essence of the resolution itself.

The resolution adopted at Amsterdam, and which I have all along designated as the Dresden-Amsterdam resolution, was the resolution submitted to the Congress by the Socialist party of France, with but one alteration. It substitutes the word "repudiate" for "condemn"—the Congress "repudiates," it does not "condemn," whatever the difference may mean. The genesis of the Dresden-Amsterdam resolution sufficiently explains its essence and purpose. These were further accentuated by the speeches made in its support. Finally, the vote of the Congress completes the picture.

At the Paris Congress of 1900, it was not merely the substance of the Kautsky resolution that characterized the thing. It was the speeches made in its support that preened its feathers. Similarly at Amsterdam. In and of itself, the Dresden-Amsterdam resolution could have been voted for by Jaures himself. He did not: he fought it. He spoke passionately against it; he satirized its supporters; he ridiculed its contents. What

he really fought, opposed, satirized, and ridiculed was the rhetorical orchestration against himself, and which gave the resolution point. That, jointly with the genesis of the resolution, was what forced Jaures' hand, and thereby earned for the otherwise faulty resolution the support that it received from the Socialist Labor Party of America, as the least bad and only feasible forward step under the circumstances.

The Dresden-Amsterdam resolution preserves the earmarks of the defective attitude of these International Congresses. The Kautsky resolution was a bed of Procrustes: it met the fate of all such Procrustean attempts: each one interpreted it to suit himself, to the extent that it earned the witty nickname of the Kaoutchouc (india rubber) resolution. The Dresden-Amsterdam resolution pulls, or affects to pull, some of the claws of the Kautsky resolution, but it essentially preserves the Procrustean defects of its original, defects that, as the Kautsky resolution experienced, will inevitably lead to sophistical arguments intended to escape the effect of its defective construction. That this forecast is not likely to be imaginary may be judged by the vote of the Congress—the large number of abstentions.

The success of the tactics and strategy of the Socialist party of France had a narrow escape. The calculation that the continental states, which habitually follow in the train of Germany, would be secured by securing Germany, did not prove wholly correct. Vic-

tory was snatched by the skin of the teeth. In the first place—as was pointed out in the flashlight "Victor Adler"—the Adler-Vandervelde proposed resolution intended to afford the Jaures sympathizers a half-way roost or asylum, was defeated only by a tie vote.* In the second place, when the final vote was taken on the Dresden-Amsterdam resolution, six nationalities abstained from voting. With the exception of Argentina, who considered her own movement too small to take sides in such an issue, all the other abstainers felt too strongly the Jauresistic requirements of their own country fully to follow the lead of their otherwise leader, Germany. They could not go so far as to vote for the resolution; they dared not vote against it, and thus rank themselves on the side of Jaures; they halted half way.† They all will find arguments in the defective construction of the resolution that was adopted to follow

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*The vote by nationalities stood:

Aye:—Australia, 2; Argentina, 2; Austria, 2; Belgium, 2; Denmark, 2; England, 2; France (Jaures), 1; Holland, 2; Norway, 1; Poland, 1; Sweden, 2; Switzerland, 2. Total 21.

Nay:—America, 2; Bohemia, 2; Bulgaria, 2; France (Guesde), 1; Germany, 2; Hungary, 2; Italy, 2; Japan, 2; Norway, 1; Poland, 1; Russia, 2; Spain, 2. Total, 21.

†The vote by nationalities stood:

Aye:—America, 2; Austria, 2; Bulgaria, 2; England, 1; Germany, 2; Holland, 2; Hungary, 2; Italy, 2; Japan, 2; Norway, 1; Poland, 2; Spain, 2; Switzerland, 1; Russia, 2. Total, 25.

Nay:—Australia, 2; England, 1; France (Jaures), 1; Norway, 1. Total, 5.

The abstensions were:—Argentina, 2; Belgium, 2; Denmark, 2; Holland, 2; Switzerland, 2; Sweden, 2. Total, 6 nationalities, 12 votes.

the even tenor of their way, as dictated by their home conditions.

The Dresden-Amsterdam resolution put the quietus on Jauresism in France. For that much it deserves praise. For the rest the resolution has all the weaknesses inherent in legislation that, special in its purpose, affects to be general in scope.

IX.

THE GENERAL STRIKE.

The adoption of the Dresden-Amsterdam resolution was the one act of importance done by the Amsterdam Congress. All the others of the many subjects on the order of business were, as Bebel pronounced them, trifles (Nebensachen). Nevertheless, one of these trifles deserves special treatment. It is the "general strike."

The strike is that question that, as much as any and more than so many others of the many sub-questions raised by the labor movement, incites dangerous lures. It is a topic so beset with lures that, on the one hand, it offers special opportunities to the demagogue and the "agent provocateur," while, on the other, it frequently threatens to throw the bona fide labor militant into dangerous proximity of thought with the out-and-out capitalist. Nothing short of calmest judgment can preserve the requisite balance of mind in the premises.

Whether great revolutions are considered in days when the battlefield was the only court, the court of first and last resort, or whether they are considered since the days when the court of first resort has become

the hustings,—at whatever period of social development great revolutions are considered, physical force has remained, down to the latest instance of recorded history, the final court where final judgment was finally pronounced. This circumstance has wrought a certain optical illusion in the popular mind; and the illusion in turn has reacted back and engendered at the opposite extreme what may be termed a peculiar mental malady. The optical illusion consists in presenting physical force —so prominent, because so noisy, a factor in the settlement of great issues—as a creative power; the opposite, the mental malady, consists in what Marx has designated in "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" as "parliamentary idiocy," meaning that abject fetich, reverence for "law," a malady that "fetters whomsoever it infects to an imaginary world, and robs them of all sense, all remembrance, all understanding of the rude outside world." Neither physical force nor the ballot is a creative power. They are methods, successive methods, at that, of the real creative power. The four latest and leading events in modern and capitalist history are instances in point.

When capitalist interests had engendered in Great Britain a capitalist class, and this class felt hampered by the existing feudal institutions of the land, an inevitable social revolution designed itself upon the canvas of British history. The previous revolutions of the land had resorted forthwith to physical force. Not this. The times had changed. The first field of en-

counter now was the hustings. There the preliminary battles were fought, and there the revolution won. With the election of the Hampdens and the Pyms to the Parliament that bearded Charles I., capitalism triumphed. That is true. But true also it is that the triumph was not final. The original court of first and last resort now became the court of ultimate appeal. Thither, to the court of physical force, the party aggrieved below took its case. Strokes thereupon arbitrated the issue. Physical force confirmed the verdict.

It was likewise with the subsequent revolution in America. The issue at stake was to sunder or to confirm the feudal trammels to capitalist development. That issue was first taken to the hustings. Tory and patriot candidates were the pleaders. The revolution won. With the election of the Continental Congress capitalism triumphed; but, again, only in the court of first resort. Again the aggrieved party "appealed." The court of last resort entered final judgment at Yorktown. Not until then was the case settled.

It was likewise in France in the instance of what is known as the French Revolution, but which again was the revolution of capitalism against feudalism. The issue was fought out at the hustings. When the States General were returned elected with a bourgeois Third Estate triumphant over the noble and clerical candidates who contested the bourgeois seats, the revolution obtained judgment in the lower court. French feudality

"appealed," and the court of last resort confirmed the judgment of the court below.

Finally in our own conflict over slavery, that navel-string of feudalism that still remained to be cut, the case was first conducted at the hustings. The election of Lincoln was the title of the verdict in the lower court; Appomattox was the title of the verdict with which the court of last resort finally settled the issue.

In all of these instances the ballot performed an essential, though not a complete mission; in all of them physical force filled an important, though not an all-sufficient role. Neither the "ballot" nor "physical force" was found to be enough. They were found to be supplemental to each other, but supplemental as methods only. The creative power lay in neither. It was found to lie back of both—in the prerequisite work of agitation, education and organization, three elements which, combined, imply clarification as to purpose, unity as to policy.

The strike spells "physical force." As such it is neither a creative power, nor yet, at the modern stage of civilization, the all-sufficient method that physical force once was. It is not even a first, at best it can only be a crowning method. The test applicable to the strike—as a partial manifestation—is preeminently applicable to the strike—as a general manifestation. The partial strike may be a skirmish, and skirmishes may be lost without the loss being fatal; the general strike —aimed at without regard to the principles estab-

lished by modern experience as applicable to modern exigencies—is a general rout, and that is fatal. The advocates of the "general strike" incur a double error; they keep in mind only the second court, wholly oblivious of the first; furthermore, they overlook the important fact that, not the revolution, but the reaction ever is the appellant in the second court, the initiator de facto of physical force. So long as a revolution is not ripe enough to triumph in the court of first resort, it is barred from the second. The posture of the advocates of the "general strike" is obviously archaic. On the other hand, succumbing to what Marx termed "parliamentary idiocy," there are those who totally reject the general strike; their mental horizon is bounded by the ballot; as a rule they are people who see in the trade union only a temporary makeshift; they do not recognize in it the "reserve army" form of the revolution that, ten to one, as taught us by modern history, will have to march upon the field of last resort, summoned thither by the usurper, defeated in the court below.

The question of the general strike was discussed only by and before what in the previous flashlight of this serial, "August Bebel," I termed the "rump Congress." The bulk of the delegates were at the great Committee on International Political Policy, or "doing the town." I heard only the fag end of the discussion, on Thursday afternoon, after the Committee on International Political Policy had concluded its labors. The

S. L. P. gave its vote against the Allemanist proposition,* which was cast in the mold designated above as "archaic," and voted with the majority for the Holland proposition,† which, although not as precise, in some respects, as the proposition presented by the Socialist party of France,‡ was free from Allemanism and gathered the support of the bulk of the Congress. For the reasons stated above the discussion on the general strike was spiritless at the Congress. Nevertheless, seeing that the principles which prevailed on the subject were those that found strongest expression at the national convention of the Socialist party of France, held in Lille§ during the week just preceding the Amsterdam Congress, and that it was my privilege to assist at the Lille session from the beginning to the end, snatches of the discussion there are not out of place in this report—all the more seeing that almost all the delegates at Lille were also delegates at Amsterdam. (The arguments of four of the speakers) will be of special interest in America.

Lafargue used an illustration taken from America to clinch his point. "Who is it," he asked, "that has it in his power to bring about a general cessation of work? Is it the workingman or the capitalist? Look

*See Add. H.

†See Add. F.

‡See Add. G.

§See Add. P.

to America where these questions turn up on gigantic scales. When eight years ago Bryan threatened to be elected President, what was the confident threat made to the working class by the trust magnates? It was this: 'If Bryan is elected we shall shut down!' Under present circumstances, it is the capitalist who has the power and may also have an interest in bringing about a general strike. The workingman can only be the loser."

Guesde made on the occasion two speeches. The second supplemented the first. It was an analytical review of the development of the notion of the general strike. He traced its source to a resolution adopted by an old "radical" body in France. With much intellectual acumen he proved that the idea was born of and ever has been accompanied with that false conception of the labor movement that denied its essentially political character.

Osmin, a delegate from Aube, summed up the attitude of the general strike supporters, who seemed to be mainly Parisians, with a neat and satirical epigram. "Henry IV.," said he, "wishing to captivate Paris, the good will of the people of Paris, said: 'Paris is well worth a mass,' and he turned Catholic. It appears to me that there are people here, who, wishing to captivate the good will of some Parisian folks, hold that 'Paris is well worth a general strike resolution'!"

Finally, a delegate from Paris, Chauvin, and one-time Socialist deputy in the Chamber, made a speech

that, despite its being rendered in French, and despite the locality, made it difficult for me to keep in mind that I was in France, not in America; that the occasion was a convention of French Socialists, not of the Socialist Labor Party; and that the speaker was a member of the Socialist party of France, not a member of my own Party. Chauvin's arguments were S. L. P. to the hilt. Said he in substance: "The general strike is an alluring notion. No doubt the chimera sticks in the heads of many a workingman. Quite possibly it is even popular in the shops. What of it? Is that a reason for us to yield to delusion? Quite possibly we may, if we did, ingratiate ourselves with workingmen, who now look upon us with disfavor, if not suspicion. But is 'ingratiation' our mission? Is our mission not rather 'education'? A policy of 'ingratiation' looks to the immediate present at the sacrifice of the future. The policy of 'education' looks to the important future athwart the thorny present. By echoing the errors of the masses of the working class we may ingratiate ourselves with them TODAY. But what of the MORROW, when bitter experience will have taught them that we were no wiser than they? Aye, when they will learn that all the while we knew better, and yet acted contrary to our own better knowledge? They will then execrate us; and we would deserve their execration. Not the echoing of our fellow wage slaves' errors is our task. Such a task is easy. Ours is the task of uprooting their errors. The more strongly rooted, all the

more imperative is our duty to set our faces against such errors. That renders our task arduous (penible), you will say. Yes, arduous indeed, for the present; easy later on. The opposite policy, on the contrary, renders our task easy for the present — aye, so very easy! — but how about the future? The crop of thorns that we would thus have ourselves raised would tear our flesh to pieces!" — Obviously Socialist theory and practice are the fruit of conditions. Similar conditions produce similar fruit. The thoughts of the militant Socialist are one wherever he be.

Chauvin is a hair-dresser by occupation. He is a man of middle age, nervy, spare, of comely features, modest and serious. His gestures, when he speaks, are American; they are well under control and emphatic. No howl against him intimidates the man: its only effect is to intensify the lines on his face. When his words arouse opposition, his favorite gesture is to stretch out his right arm with the palm of his hand out; and he proceeds unperturbed. When the day of reckoning comes, the French capitalist class will have to reckon with Chauvin.

X.

CONGRESS MISCELLANIES.

My memoranda on the Amsterdam Congress proper, together with kindred matters in Europe, contain a large number of notes on subjects not yet touched upon. These subjects—with the exception of the "International Bureau," the "Situation in Belgium" and the "British S. L. P.," which will be treated separately—are mostly fugitive in their nature. Some, however, will materially aid in obtaining the proper "color" of the Congress. These I shall cursorily take up now.

* * *

Such is the slovenliness with which all the official reports of the Amsterdam Congress, that I have so far seen, are gotten up that the Socialist Labor Party's delegation is credited with only one delegate. The delegation consisted officially of four members, and was so entered by me in the official blank furnished by the bureau. The S. L. P. delegation consisted of myself, elected by a general vote of the Party, and of three others to whom the National Convention empowered the National Executive Committee to issue credentials. They were Moritz Poehland, Dyer Enger and Jules

Ferrond. Of these only Poehland put in an appearance. He joined me on the third day of the Congress. Enger wrote to me from Norway that he was detained away; while Ferrond, due to an odd series of unfortunate coincidences, remained in Belgium, disconnected from me, although ready all the time to proceed to Amsterdam.

* * *

What with the confining work on the Committee on International Political Policy, and my being alone on the first two days, the S. L. P. report to the Congress was not distributed until the third day. In respect to "reports," I noticed a marked difference between Amsterdam and Zurich in 1893. At the latter Congress, the nationality that had no report was the exception; at Amsterdam, the exception seemed to be the nationalities that had reports. As to the report of the S. L. P., the method adopted at Zurich—printing the report in one volume, with the English, French and German versions in parallel columns—had proved clumsy and was discarded by our National Executive Committee. At this Congress the method would have proved still clumsier, seeing the S. L. P. report was in four languages—English, German, French and Swedish. While the separate method is on the whole better, it entailed in this instance the labor of folding—except the French translation which I caused to be printed in France and was neatly bound in a red cover. On the third day of the Congress, Poehland having arrived, we buckled down

to the work. With the aid of the five comrades of the British S. L. P., the folding and distributing were disposed of in short order. We could have disposed of twice the number—250 in each language, except the French, of which there were 500. They were all taken with interest, in many instances several copies being demanded. In not a few instances, especially along the tables of the German and Austrian delegations, the S.L.P. report produced astonishment (Ueberraschung) as one of the delegates put it; the false reports about America in their countries had caused him to believe that the S. L. P. had ceased to be (besteht ueberhaupt nicht), as he expressed it. They all learned better. The reports of the Australian S. L. P., in my charge, were also distributed, and let some light into dark corners.*

* * *

The building in which the Congress met, the Concert Gebow, was a vast improvement over Zurich. The hall was spacious with broad galleries above; the appointments were excellent; the drapery and foliage—with one exception that I shall presently mention—was tasteful. For all that, the Congress presented the aspect of a stock exchange.

* * *

The stock exchange appearance of the Congress arose from the Babel of languages. If, out of five persons gathered at a meeting, only two at any time under-

*See Add. N.

stand the language spoken by a speaker, the other three must be positively and wilfully rude before any confusion is created. At Amsterdam there were close to five hundred delegates, without counting the thickly packed galleries. It is safe to say that at no time did more than two hundred understand the speaker of the moment. Even the involuntary rustling of three hundred enforced non-listeners will create a buzz. That three hundred men—unable at any time to understand what was being said from the platform where sat the three presidents, their aides and the translators—will not simply rustle is obvious. They engaged in conversation, walked about, paid mutual calls on old acquaintances, went in and went out, and slammed the doors.

It was simply impossible to understand the daily announcements made from the platform. At the close of the Thursday session an announcement was made regarding the procedure of the next day. Although the notice was given in English, German and French, and the translators had good, strong voices, I could not make out the details from the distance of the table of the American delegation. I walked forward and inquired from three delegates, who sat nearer the platform across the passage way on whose further side sat the American delegation. None of the three could give me information. I then continued to walk toward the platform and inquired from each delegate who gave me a chance. I then cared less for the information I had actually started in search of. What I then aimed

at was to test how near to or far from the platform the announcements could be made out. In that way I ran the gauntlet of a good portion of the German and Austrian, of the Swiss, the Italian and the Belgian tables. I questioned twenty-three delegates by actual count—not one had been able to catch enough of the announcement to know just what was said. It was not until I climbed up the platform and inquired from Vaillant himself that I found out what I wanted. It was a stock exchange pandemonium.

* * *

To the American eye there was one unfortunate incident in the decorations that aided the stock exchange illusion. The incident was in plain view of the Congress, even ostentatiously so. At the foot of the platform, but considerably above the floor, rose the speakers' tribune. It was draped in gorgeous red and its front bore the initials I. S. C., standing, no doubt, for "International Socialist Congress." The three initials were, however, contrived into an unfortunate-looking monogram. The S. was made to twine itself around the upright that stood for the I, and the combination of the two was placed within the C, giving the monogram the appearance of the $ mark, accentuated by the broad C. For all the world, it looked like a loud "dollar and cents" sign, rendered all the louder by its color—yellow on a blood-red background.

Considering that this Congress, differently from all others, charged 10 francs ($2) from every delegate,

and half a guilder (20 cents) from the visitors per session, it looked as if the proverbial thrift of the Hollander was emblematically besides practically illustrated.

* * *

As against this, the Amsterdam Congress compared favorably with the one of Zurich in still another aspect —the appearance of the women delegates. At Zurich, the Cynthia Leonards of the olden days of the "Socialistic Labor party"—those Aspasias without either the charm or æsthetic qualities of Aspasia, those George Sands without either the character or talent of that great woman — were conspicuous in point of sight and in point of sound. At Amsterdam, if they were at all around, they escaped my notice. The movement has certainly cleansed itself.

* * *

A curious incident occurred on the morning of the opening of the Congress. I happened to be among the earliest delegates in the hall. The sign "America" readily led me to our table. One of the two seats at the head of that table was taken. I took the other. As I sat down, the occupant of the other and opposite seat, rose and cheerily reached out his hand to me saying: "Comrade De Leon, I think?" He was a young man of open, pleasant face, with Jovian locks and a generous, flowing red necktie. I told him that was my name and accepted the proffered hand. He shook it enthusiastically and proceeded to explain:

"My name is Nicholas Klein. I am a delegate of the Socialist party. I'm from Indianapolis. I'm here also as the reporter of the *Appeal to Reason.* Whenever I meet a Socialist I feel that I meet a brother."

The gladsome greeting turned aside whatever rapier I might otherwise have raised against a political foe. Nevertheless his mentioning of the *Appeal to Reason* drew from me the answer:

"As you are a reporter of the *Appeal to Reason* I would suggest to you, that next time you see Wayland, you ask him for me whether it is not about time for him to reproduce that tombstone of mine under which he claimed to have buried me five years ago. People may forget that I'm dead, they may think he romanced."

Klein smiled jovially and observed: "Socialists should not fight."

I thought so too. And that being neither the place nor the time for a controversy on American affairs, I switched off the conversation on general matters. After a minute or so, leaving my satchel and traveling cap as symbolic possession of my seat, I walked over to the nearby table of the British delegation, where I noticed that the British S. L. P. delegates had just taken their seats. While there, talking with them, I presently heard my name uttered behind me in what seemed to be a short but animated little spat. Turning around I saw that several other members of the "Socialist" or "Social Democratic" delegation had arrived; they

seemed disinclined to respect the symbols of possession I had left behind at the desirable seat. But Klein insisted that that was "Comrade De Leon's" seat, and they desisted. Klein had shown himself loyal, though an adversary.

I shall presently have another occasion to do justice to the young man's character.

* * *

The Swedish reports of the S. L. P. caused me to fall in with Hjalmar Branting, the editor of the Stockholm *Social Demokraten* and member of the Swedish Riksdag or Parliament. Branting is the acknowledged leader of the movement in Sweden. Theoretically I knew as much; Funke, now in Sweden and until recently editor of the S. L. P. Swedish paper, *Arbetaren,* had furnished me with details—Branting is a Jauresist, and has all the Jauresist antipathy for such S. L. P. views as the *Arbetaren* expresses. His paper and *Arbetaren* had shivered many a lance upon each other's armor.

I told him that Funke had translated for me several letters from France that appeared in the *Social Demokraten,* and whose descriptions of Guesde reminded me of the pictures that Goethe said Roman Catholic prelates circulated of Spinoza. In those pictures the gentle Spinoza was represented with the face of a fiend. I remembered and repeated to him one of those descriptions in particular, where Guesde's hair, eyes, nose and beard were described with special venom, and the

man himself as a cross between a jumping-jack and a Mephisto.

Branting is considerably more than a six-footer, with the rotundity of girth and facial features indicative of profound phlegma. I had ample time to watch his thoughts formulate an answer. His looks indicated that he felt I was accurately posted. He did not venture to deny the statement. Finally he remarked, smiling good-naturedly: "Funke may have somewhat exaggerated in the translation," and breaking off suddenly, he proceeded along another tack. "Do you know," he said, "I have a son, a stepson, in America; and he writes to me things are there entirely different from what they are in Sweden. He is an enthusiastic S. L. P. man." I told him I knew the young man, and certainly agreed with him that the situation in America would not justify Jauresism. That conversation closed with his expressing a strong desire to be able to follow events in America more closely than his time allowed.

* * *

Illustrative of how true is the statement made to me by one of the European delegates that "America is a *terra incognita* to us," the following incident may be cited:

The editor of an Austrian paper, a man bearing the earmarks of study and who even spoke enough English to be understood, came to me as I sat in my seat and asked:

"John Mitchell, the president of the miners' union,

he is in Europe; I would like to see him. He surely is in the American delegation?"

This Socialist editor had just information enough about America to mislead him. The absurd, even criminally negligent and false reports furnished to the European Socialist papers by their correspondents from America had nursed in his mind such a picture of that "labor lieutenant" of Mark Hanna's that the picture naturally made him expect to see Mitchell in the delegation from America at the Congress, all the more seeing that Mitchell was known to be at the time in Europe in attendance on a miners' convention, and all the more seeing that other editors of European Socialist papers, *De Werker* of Antwerp among the lot, spoke of him as "Comrade Mitchell" (Genosse Mitchell)! The Austrian Socialist editor in question did not even know that Mitchell had so speedily rendered himself impossible, that even the "Socialist," or "Social Democratic," party, which at first boomed him as a "great champion of labor," found him too much of a load to carry and has been forced to drop him. Of course, the innocent Austrian Socialist editor in question did not know that there was at all (ueberhaupt) a Socialist Labor Party in existence, least of all that that Party had from the start exposed Mitchell for what he is, never misleading any workingman into leaning his confidence upon that broken reed.

When the Austrian Socialist editor referred to asked me the question whether John Mitchell was in

my delegation, meaning, of course, the supposedly one American delegation, I answered emphatically:

"No, Sir; not in *my* delegation," and gravely waving my hand toward Klein, who sat opposite me, added: "Not in *my* delegation; but he may be in the delegation of that gentleman."

Klein threw up his hands and hastened to put in: "Not in mine, either!"

"It is about time, high time you dropped him," I retorted.

The Austrian Socialist editor in question looked perplexed. To this hour he may not have recovered from his astonishment (Ueberraschung).

* * *

Another Scandinavian delegate whom I had the pleasure of meeting was Olav Kringen, the delegate from Norway, who attended the convention with his wife. Oddly enough, one should say, Kringen, as well as the Norwegian delegate to Zurich, eleven years ago, had been in America, Minnesota. At Amsterdam, outside of the representatives from America and Great Britain on the Committee on International Political Policy, Kringen was one of the two who addressed the committee in English. The other was Katayama, of Japan.

* * *

Among the droll incidents at the Congress, one that was not merely droll but suggestive withal, was an in-

cident to which my fellow delegate Poehland nudged my attention.

It was late on the Thursday afternoon session of the Congress. The Committee on International Political Policy had closed its labors. The report to the Congress was to be submitted on the following morning. The report was to recommend the adoption of the Dresden-Amsterdam resolution as presented by the Socialist party of France. With Poehland opposite me, temporarily occupying the seat of Klein, I was in my seat busy writing my preliminary report in time for the American mail. Presently I felt the paper, on which I was writing, gently pushed. Looking up I saw Poehland with a grin from ear to ear, nodding to me to look down our table. The spectacle to which he called my attention fully deserved his grin.

A yard or so below from where we two were sitting at the head of the American table, stood Herman Schluter, of the New Yorker Volkszeitung Corporation, and Mrs. Corinne S. Brown, of Chicago—both of them members of the delegation of the "Socialist," or "Social Democratic" party. They stood on opposite sides of the table, and were engaged in a heated altercation. The lady looked composed, benign, firm and dignified; Schluter looked red, heated, embarrassed and sheepish. What was it all about?

The resolution, as adopted by the Committee on International Political Policy, was, as I have stated before, the resolution presented by the Socialist party

of France, and this resolution followed closely that adopted at the Dresden national convention of the German Social Democracy. The Dresden resolution "condemned" Jauresism. The resolution presented by the Socialist party of France retained the word "condemn." The supporters of the Adler-Vandervelde resolution, having failed in the committee, were now going about agitating in its behalf for the tussle the next day; and the point upon which they now centered their opposition to the resolution that prevailed in the committee was the word "condemn." By attacking that word they expected to bring about the defeat of the proposed Dresden-Amsterdam resolution and the triumph of its Adler-Vandervelde substitute. Mrs. Brown was captured. She objected to "condemning"; she was not there to "condemn"; she did not believe in "condemning"; to "condemn" was "un-Socialistic"; etc., etc. Schluter, on the contrary, favored "condemning." He argued that, if you disapprove a thing, you "condemn" it; with a silly facial expression he tried to combat the notion that to "condemn" was harshly "un-Socialistic"; etc., etc.

Theoretically, Schluter was right; theoretically, Mrs. Brown was wrong. And, yet, the lady's poise and manners were those of conscious truth, while Schluter's poise and manners were those of conscious falseness. What was it that imparted to the picture presented by the two disputants the aspect of sincerity to wrong, and of insincerity to right? That was the rub!

Mrs. Brown, wrong though her posture was, was consistent with the premises from which she and her party had started, and along which she and Schluter finally landed in the same camp; whereas Schluter, right though his posture was, knew he was inconsistent with the premises from which he started, and to the tune of which he had finally coalesced with Mrs. Brown. When the Schluters set up the yell of "S. L. P. harshness!" they knew the falseness of the slogan. They knew full well that theirs was but a maneuver of false pretense by which they intended to avail themselves of Utopianism with the hope to down the S. L. P. which they had not been able to corrupt, and which CONDEMNED their practices. Mrs. Brown was but clinging to a principle to which she adhered from the start—hence her posture of sincerity. Schluter was stealing a page from S. L. P. principle which he had affected to oppose—hence the sheepishness of his posture and looks, especially when he noticed the S. L. P. delegates enjoying his plight.

* * *

As I stated before, there was another occasion during the Congress when Klein's character showed to advantage. It was in the matter of the immigration resolution.

There was a proposition signed by Van Koll, of the Holland delegation, restricting the immigration of "inferior races." The Committee on Emigration and Immigration elaborated the matter, and finally a propo-

sition was formally introduced bearing six signatures, those of H. Schluter, Morris Hillquit, and A. Lee—all members of Klein's "Socialist," or "Social Democratic" party delegation—among the lot. This proposition disingenuously dropped the word "inferior," and substituted it with the word "backward" races, and sought to explain it by placing in parentheses the words "such as Chinese, Negroes, ETC."*

Such a posture was perfectly in keeping with the working class-sundering, guild-spirit-breathing A. F. of L., which dominates the eastern wing of the party that furnished three out of the six signatures to the proposition, all the three signatures being from the East, from New York, at that, and two of the three (Schluter and Lee) employes of the New Yorker Volkszeitung Corporation, while two (Schluter and Hillquit) are stockholders of the said corporation. How much in keeping with the anti-Socialist Gompers A. F. of L. the proposition was may be judged from the language of the "labor" Mayor Schmitz of San Francisco, in his salutatory address to the annual convention of the A. F. of L. that was opened in San Francisco on the 15th of this month (November, 1904). He included the Japanese (! !) among the races to be proscribed; and his recommendation was adopted by the convention. The "ETC." in the proposition presented at Amsterdam begins to be elucidated. Moreover, how wholly in keep-

*See Add. J.

ing with the spirit of the Eastern wing of the said "Socialist," or "Social Democratic" party, the proposition was, is a fact that stood conspicuously advertised in the late Presidential campaign. On the bill-boards of the city of Troy, N. Y., there were posted during the recent Presidential campaign huge posters on behalf of the Social Democratic party. In the center of the posters were the pictures of Debs and Hanford; between them appeared the motto from the Communist Manifesto: "WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!"; and above it all, in commentary on the party's interpretation of the great Socialist motto, there was an exordium to the workers enumerating, among the atrocities of the capitalists, that "THEY WANT UNRESTRICTED IMMIGRATION" — evidently ranking their party on the side of restricted immigration, and seeking support from such an anti-Socialist sentiment.

The proposition being put in print and circulated in the Congress, the canvassing commenced. The bulk of that day I was elsewhere engaged and did not appear in my seat. Imagining he could take advantage of that and secure both the American votes for his A. F. of L. guildish resolution, Schluter approached my fellow delegate, Poehland, and sought to rope him in. Of course he failed egregiously, and found out that the S. L. P. consists not of one man but of a solid body of Socialists. Poehland repudiated Schluter's request for support: he repudiated it with scorn. Of course: Where

is the line that separates "inferior" from "superior" races? What serious man, if he is a Socialist, what Socialist if he is a serious man, would indulge in "etc." in such important matters? To the native American proletariat, the Irish was made to appear an "inferior" race; to the Irish, the German; to the German, the Italian; to the Italian—and so down the line through the Swedes, the Poles, the Jews, the Armenians, the Japanese, to the end of the gamut. Socialism knows not such insulting, iniquitous distinctions as "inferior" and "superior" races among the proletariat. It is for capitalism to fan the fires of such sentiments in its scheme to keep the proletariat divided.

When the proposition came up for debate, be it said to the credit of Klein that, ungulled by the insidious wording of the resolution to conceal its nefarious purpose and entrap acceptance, he repudiated the work of his colleagues. With flashing, inspired eyes, the young man declared he "would feel ashamed, as an American citizen, to vote for such a resolution!"

Upon the howl raised in the Congress the proposition was withdrawn.

* * *

There is just one more miscellany that I shall here report.

The Congress adopted a proposition that goes by the name of "unity resolution."* The same empowers

*See Add. I.

the International Bureau to offer its good offices to all nationalities in which the Socialist movement may be divided to the end of unifying it, in order that the bourgeois parties of each nation be confronted with but one Socialist party. The proposition was submitted to the Congress by the Committee on International Political Policy, which adopted it unanimously at the end of the session.

Immediately upon the adoption of this resolution, Vaillant announced that the Socialist party of France, standing upon the Dresden-Amsterdam resolution just previously adopted, stood ready to unify with all French Socialists who likewise would plant themselves upon the principles therein enunciated. Toward the end of Vaillant's speech I also announced myself to the chairman for the floor. By that time the committee was fast breaking up. The large lobby had merged with and now sat in among the members of the committee. A member of the French delegation, who happened at the moment to be seated near me, seeing I had announced myself to speak, suggested that I repeat exactly what Vaillant had said. I answered him I would, in the main, only "with an American variation." In the hubbub that followed, the subject of the unity resolution was brushed aside, and I had no chance to speak on it. I shall here say what I meant to say, but had no chance:

"Mr. Chairman: As a delegate from a country in which there are two parties, both of them represented on this committee, as you know, I wish to endorse in

the name of my Party, the Socialist Labor Party of America, what Comrade Vaillant has said, and to add this: One of the lullabies, a favorite one, that heralded the advent of the second party in America was that 'Germany once had two Socialist parties, France has several, why should America have only one?' The second party was thus ushered into being in imitation of Europe. Now that Europe decides there should be but one Socialist party in each country, I trust the second party may be as ready to follow the European lead in the matter of unity as it was to follow European example, as it imagined, in the matter of disunity."

XI.

THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU.

Marx's name has reached the point where tradition clusters around him. Among the Marxian traditions that I heard in Europe was his conception concerning the central administrative body of the International. According to that conception, the International Socialist Congresses were to be only a temporary, transitional and social affair, the real, ultimate and effective fruit of the transitional period being an International Conference essentially different from the congresses. The congresses were large, the conference would be small; the congresses were public, the conference would be secret; the congresses were legislative, the conference would be executive. While the congresses would debate, discuss, gather for friendly intercourse, the conference would meet for action. The tradition forecasts the present International Bureau, and this in turn is supposed to foreshadow the real "bureau" of the tradition—an unobtrusive meeting of one or two representative men from several nationalities, in some unadvertised place, for the purpose of conferring upon the ripeness of the times, and at the fit hour, decide upon and give the sig-

nal for the downfall of capitalism, or bourgeois rule. The tradition sounds luridly revolutionary, much akin to conspiracy. And yet there is nothing lurid or conspiracy-like about the thought in its essential features. It is perfectly natural. The very thing is now going on in capitalist circles. The Socialist program is no secret: It demands the unconditional surrender of capitalism: its International Congresses so announce it to the world: its local organizations work to that end. Nothing more natural than that conferences, intended to feel the pulse of the times, should be held. They certainly are held now whenever two Socialists meet. That the day will come when more than two will make up the conference, and that such conferences will not be heralded and cried from the house-tops, is obvious. Whether, however, the conferences in question will proceed upon the theory that the Social Revolution will be simultaneously international, and that it will take place with the mathematical precision implied by the tradition, is another question. Indeed the tradition, as traditions generally, has certainly come down distorted. It is hardly likely that Marx could have expressed a view indicative of such a Punch and Judy conception of society. For all that, the tradition does forecast correctly the formation of an International Bureau, where the international affairs of the movement can be attended to more soberly than it is possible to attend to them in mob congresses. In so far, Marx's forecast reflects the uniformity of the man's clearness of vision.

The Edinburgh *Socialist,* organ of the British Socialist Labor Party, published in its September issue a witty persiflage of both the manner in which the delegations of the present International Congresses are made up, and the manner in which the International Bureau deports itself. As to the former (the delegations), the satire refers to the fact that the British delegation greatly out-numbered the German, despite the latter's 3,000,000 votes; and graphically reproducing the spirit in which many of the delegations were made up, the British especially, the satire puts into the mouth of Hyndman of the British Social Democratic Federation a speech illustrative of the situation. The gentleman declares to his fellow British delegates that he is "gratified at the enormous growth of Socialism in Great Britain"; that the enormity of the growth "was evinced by the large number of delegates"; that that was the "best and most reliable test"; that some people estimate the strength of a Socialist organization by the amount and soundness of agitation it carried on, but that those who thought so "took a very narrow and provincial view of things"; and that the thing to do was to strive and send ever more delegates to the International Congresses. As to the latter (the International Bureau), the satire gets up the following resolution in the name of the said huge British delegation as the climax of their deliberations: "Resolved, That the class struggle does and shall continue to exist until *notified to the contrary by the officials of the International Bu-*

reau." I may here also add the opinion of Mrs. Corinne S. Brown of the "Socialist," or "Social Democratic" delegation, whom I quoted once before. Writing from Amsterdam to the Milwaukee *Social Democratic Herald,* the lady said: "Everything seems to be settled by the bureau, nothing by the convention," all of which correctly reflects two facts: the loose, picnic spirit in which the congresses are made up, as a whole, and the arbitrary deportment of the bureau. In fact the latter is the inevitable consequence of the former.

Marx must have foreseen the social or picnic character of the congresses. He must also have realized the impossibility of remedying the evil, in so far as it is an evil. Difficult to conceive is any scheme of "basis of representation" that would impart to the delegations another, a soberer character. Moreover, even if such a scheme were conceived and enforced, its contemplated purpose would suffer shipwreck upon the rock of the unavoidable Babel of languages. There is but one way out—a working bureau. Thus arose since the Paris Congress of 1900 the International Socialist Bureau, called for short International Bureau, consisting of two representatives of each nationality that chooses to enroll itself.

I have not yet heard a criticism of the International Bureau that is not correct. It is, on the morrow, inconsistent with its own precedents of the previous day; it now decides a case one way, then another; it is hasty; it is childish; it is arbitrary. An illustration of these

facts was furnished in my report to the Australian and the Canadian Socialist Labor Party*; another, and if possible, stronger illustration will appear in the subsequent article, "The British S. L. P." The satire quoted above from the Edinburgh *Socialist* is felicitous: the bureau's present attitude is just one to warrant the joke that it could notify the class struggle that the latter was abrogated. The International Bureau is all that, and yet it is eminently necessary and eminently useful. All its defects, and they are numerous, are inevitable; but they are inevitable only at this, the bureau's unripe age. Born of the need for order and of the purpose to solidify the international movement through a channel of rapid intercommunication, the International Bureau may be safely expected gradually to cast off the slough of the defects of its youth, and get itself into proper working order. This consummation is all the more certain seeing that the bureau consists, on the whole, of the elite of the movement.

*See Add. L.

XII.

THE SITUATION IN BELGIUM.

I spent—"en route to the Amsterdam Congress," so to speak—nine days in Belgium, from July 29 to August 8, when I arrived in Lille, upon the invitation of the Socialist party of France, to attend its national convention, that took place in that city from the 8th of August to the 12th. In order to reach Lille, I had to cross Belgium from north to south, and back again to Amsterdam. During the nine days so spent I read all the Belgian Socialist papers that I could get, looked into the organization of the party, and conversed with all the members of the rank and file that I could reach. The result of my investigations along the above three lines of inquiry are these:

As to the Belgian Socialist press—with the possible exception of the Brussels *Peuple,* and even there the exception must not be insisted upon too strongly—were it not because one is told so, they would not, of themselves, convey the information that they are Socialist. The only information they convey is that they are labor, but labor only in the sense that A. F. of L. journals

are labor. They often reminded me of the one-time K. of L. journals. But what with the clerical issue that these journals are wrapt up in, and what with the "co-operatives" that absorb their attention and energies, Socialist education is absent. I saw hardly a line during those nine days that would help to steady the workingman in his understanding of his class interests—a term of frequent occurrence in the papers. Nothing to protect the worker against the chicanery of capitalist politics. Often did I put to myself the question: "These people's whole reliance is on their vote; even that is going down; what would become of it if, along with the American machinery that is being imported, the Belgian ruling class were to import some American capitalist devices to mislead the labor vote?"

As to organization, the Belgian Socialist movement is mainly organized into "cooperatives" — stores and factories run upon the cooperative principle for the benefit of the stockholders. In these Socialist "cooperatives," bourgeois and workingmen, pro- and anti-Socialists are found. They gather for the sake of cheapness of goods. No other bond unites them. These "co-operatives" are a threat both to the party's integrity and to the party's enlightenment.

They are a threat to the party's integrity in that they foment the building of cliques for the jobs. Say that forty-five jobs are furnished by the running of a "cooperative," then ninety men—the forty-five ins and the organized forty-five outs—will make it their busi-

ness to uphold the institution by suppressing its defects and exaggerating its value. Often by worse means. The intrigues thus bred are numerous and constant.

The "cooperatives" are a threat to the party's enlightenment in that they draw the movement's mind from its real objective—"the producer's interests"—and keep it riveted on the bourgeois objective—"the consumer's interests." And the threat is all the more serious by reason of the immediate advantage that the "cooperatives" offer. Few things are more dangerous to a movement, revolutionary in its essence, than palliatives that are not incidental to the storm step, but that consume the marchers' thought, time, energy and aspirations. In this instance the palliative is all the more poisonous in that it directly plays into the hands of the capitalist's craving for lower wages. What has been experienced here in America in connection with proposed homes for working girls, is inevitably experienced elsewhere in connection with schemes to reduce the worker's living expenses. The girls' wages declined in even measure with the declined item for rent. So in Belgium wages are proverbially the lowest. The labors of the "cooperatives" at first incite the decline in wages, and then act as a salve to the wound. The original false step is thus transformed into a justification for its continuance. The Belgian "cooperatives" may be called the Belgian version of American pure and simple unionism —eminently useful, if used as merely temporary makeshifts; eminently harmful in the end, if considered a

finality, or even of sufficient importance to deserve a preponderance of time and effort.

Finally, as to the rank and file. Under this head I may as well sum up the situation. The summary is best introduced by quoting two expressions I have heard used.

Belgium is highly musical; amateur musical bands abound, especially in the cities, and these are heard everywhere, especially on Sundays—the people's day of rollicking enjoyment. The municipal governments encourage the people's love for music. The musical bands above a certain degree of proficiency are distributed by threes in the parks. There the sets of threes play successively on a certain number of Sundays, after which they draw lots for prizes ranging from 200 to 1,000 francs. It was so in Antwerp, where the three leading competitors played in the principal, the Rubens Park, on Sunday, July the 31st. One of the three bands was purely of musicians, another of bourgeois, the third was the Socialist band. Of all the three, the Socialist band was without a doubt the best. Relatively and absolutely it was magnificent. It formed just outside of the park, and marched in to the tune of the "Marseillaise" when its predecessor vacated the stand. The strain was in itself inspiring; it was rendered all the more inspiring by the dense mass, obviously workers, that filled the park and parted, amidst loud plaudits, to make way for the musicians; nor did the scene lose in impressiveness from the sight of the policemen in line,

with hands raised to their caps in military salute of the Socialist band. What with all that as an introduction, and the superb music that followed and continued for about an hour, I shall not soon forget that Sunday forenoon—nor the remark made to me at the close of the concert. Nicholas Van Kerkvoorde, a former Socialist Labor Party member of Section Buffalo, and now a resident of Antwerp, had taken me to the park. At the close of the concert he introduced me to several of the people present. Still under the immediate influence of the grand sight I had seen and those grander strains that I had just heard, I remarked to one of them:

"Your Socialist band is superb!"

"If only our Socialism were as good!" was the rejoinder that followed as a flash, and that was emphasized by a look of anger.

The other remark made to me, not by one or by two people, was this: "Our present movement is worthless. Our leaders are utopians, if not bourgeois radicals. WHAT WE NEED IS A MAN OF KNOWLEDGE, CHARACTER AND A LITTLE FUNDS, JUST ENOUGH TO MAKE HIM INDEPENDENT, TO GIVE THE SIGNAL. WE THEN SHALL HAVE A MOVEMENT, NOT BEFORE." Right there in Antwerp, the Socialist daily, *De Werker*, suspended, and was transferred to Ghent, for lack of readers, notwithstanding it drew for seven years a subsidy of 40,000 francs from the local "cooperative," and notwithstanding the thousands of votes still polled in

the city. Moreover, its former editor,* now without a job, wormed himself into the good graces of the employers' class, and, while I was there, was being praised by these gentlemen in the public press for his "wisdom in establishing harmony between capital and labor." I was informed that he obtained some kind of secretaryship in the Employers' Association. That is the state that the Socialist press of Belgium, jointly with its "co-operatives," has reduced the movement to or keeps it in.

What outlook does all this point to? I had more than once put the question to myself, and left it unanswered until a fact adduced by Nemec, a Bohemian delegate at Amsterdam, suggested the answer, at any rate, an answer. Nemec represented Bohemia on the Committee on International Political Policy. His remarks before the committee, alluded to by me in my preliminary report from Amsterdam, were to the effect that the radical bourgeois reputation which the movement in Germany was obtaining had for its immediate effect to "encourage the Anarchists to re-assert themselves." In proof of this Nemec referred to a recent issue of the Berlin *Vorwaerts* in which it was reported that "1,500 Anarchists met in Berlin, denounced the German Social Democracy as a bourgeois affair, and not a word was raised in defense of the party." I had no opportunity to ascertain from Nemec the date of that *Vorwaerts,* so as to verify and weigh the passage

*Louis Krinkels, later secretary of the boss diamond syndicate.

for myself. Taking the passage as given, methought the "Anarchy" of the said Berlin meeting might, perhaps, be understood by the terms of condemnation not uncommon in Belgium from Socialist quarters against the nerveless movement in their own country. Might not the Berlin "Anarchists" of the passage be impatient Socialists, too impatient to realize that the German Social Democracy could not do otherwise than it does? In short, were they really Anarchists? In Belgium a steady sediment of Socialist dissatisfaction is gathering against the present administration of the movement. There the dissatisfaction is justified. May we not any one of these days read in some Belgian Socialist paper denunciations of these dissatisfied elements as "Anarchists"? The train of thought, set in motion by Nemec's passage from the *Vorwaerts,* connected with what I had seen of the movement in France. A new vista, at least a possibility, that I had never before considered, unrolled before my eyes. Recentest events in Russia have raised the barometer of the possibility.

To borrow an illustration from Marx rather than, for the sake of originality, quoting another of the several that may be cited, butyric acid is a substance different from propyl formate. And yet both consist of the identical elements—carbon (C), hydrogen (H), and oxygen (O); and what is more to the point, both consist of exactly the same proportions of the three elements—4 atoms of C, 8 of H, and 2 of O. While Marx adduces the illustration in connection with another sub-

ject than the present, it illustrates the one in hand as well; and well it is for those Marxists, who are inclined to be dogmatic, to ponder over the scientific law that the illustration reveals. Chemistry teaches that different substances need not necessarily consist of different elements; identical elements, in identical proportions, may crystallize into different substances. The determining factor in such cases is the temperature and atmospheric pressure. In other words, the illustration reveals that different results are not predicated solely upon the difference in the composing elements. Other factors have, to a certain extent, a final word to say. Transferred to the domain of sociology the identical conclusion must be admitted.

Taking into consideration only certain cardinal principles, the conclusion cannot be escaped that America is the theater where the crest of capitalism would first be shorn by the falchion of Socialism. In all these cardinal principles Europe, on the whole, is decidedly behind. While, so far, decidedly in advance of America in the tangible and visible part of the Socialist movement, the facilities, capabilities, and ripeness of continental Europe for ringing the tocsin of the Social Revolution and successfully carrying out the revolution, are, to all appearances, infinitely behind America. Such is the conclusion that one set of facts, and those the visible ones, lead to. But in sociology, as in chemistry, "temperature and atmospheric pressure," often unforeseen, may bring about startling results.

Even so short a period as barely twelve months ago, the bare thought of the gathering of the Zemstvos at St. Petersburg would have been a symptom of insanity: the thought in connection with and as the result of such a bolt from a clear sky as the Manchurian campaign cannot be imagined to have occurred outside of a strait-jacket cell. And yet, not the thought but the fact is now in plain view of a startled world. What such a sudden "temperature and atmospheric pressure" may engender, the imagination cannot conceive. Europe is an anti-monarchic powder magazine. The sparks, that the conflagration of the Zemstvos' gathering will blow widecast, may create an explosion that may shake all Europe. It is in the conjunction with such explosions that the settling sediment of militant Socialists in Belgium, and their possible kindred in Berlin, in Austria, Italy and other European countries may rise to a significance most undreamed of. It is in such conjunctions that the powers of Guesde will place him in a position that may determine the issue. Moreover, with undoubted Socialists at the head of the other Socialist movements in Europe—and never forgetting that revolutionists ripen fast—who knows what surprises for America the near future carries in its folds?

—In which event who would underrate the importance, at such a juncture, of a Socialist movement here in America, thoroughly organized, with the revolution thoroughly perfected in its brain?

XIII.

THE BRITISH S. L. P.

In order to measure the daring flight of the young Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain, a proper estimate is necessary of that which until recently has been known under the vague appellation of the "Socialist movement of England." Nor can the proper insight be had into the latter without first a full appreciation of a certain characteristic of the English ruling class.

I would much prefer to quote exactly and in full the Marxian passage I have in mind. It occurs in "Capital"; as, however, it turns not upon economics but on psychology, and is thrown out, in Marx's way, as a casual remark, it would take me longer to find it than I have the time for. Its substance is that a ruling class dominates, not only the bodies, but the mind also of the class that it rules. The idiosyncrasies of the French feudal lord left their mark upon the French bourgeois. The characteristic of the English feudal lord of imaginary superiority over his continental fellow is impressed upon his successor the English capitalist. The history of England bears many a striking illustration of the practical effect of this quaint characteristic. England had led Europe in capitalism, but the capitalist religion,

yclept Protestantism, remained absent. On the continent, the religious and the economic manifestations of the capitalist revolution went hand in hand, until the Protestant wave beat over the continent. The English anomaly could not then continue. But the whim of English superiority prevented the wave from passing over the land "unamended." The result was the "English Church"—neither fish, flesh nor yet fowl. It has been similar with all the movements that started on the continent impelled by the progress of the times, such as parliamentary and electoral reforms. The English capitalist class could not wholly resist their influence; it was dragged along unwillingly; unwillingly because it had not itself initiated the movement; and the unwillingness of its conformity was marked by the variants that it adopted to satisfy the idiosyncrasy of its own pride.

As the British capitalist perpetuated the mental foibles of his former lords, so did the leaders that arose among the working class perpetuate the foibles of their rulers, the capitalist class—whatever did not take its start with them, however beneficial it be, could not be accepted in all its purity. If the movement was of such a nature that total rejection was out of question, it was adopted with a "variation," enough of a "variation" to save appearances, and seem original. It goes without saying that the liberties that may be taken in the matter of religious forms and electoral franchises, without material injury to either, are, in the very nature

of things, excluded when the "variations" are to be applied to a science. There is no "variation" possible to a geometric or an arithmetic proposition. However tunefully twittering the "fantasia," it is absurd, and destructive of the original. It is so with Socialist science. The "intellectuals" in the Socialist movement of England could not accept continental Socialism.—Not they! They had to try, and they did try, and they are still trying their fantasias on the subject. The result was disastrous, and the disastrousness of the result is aggravated by a form of trade unionism that had sprung up on the native heath of British capitalism, and that—as indicated by the words of Bebel in the passage upon the subject which I quoted in the flashlight "The Dresden-Amsterdam Resolution" of this serial—the British capitalist was "peskily clever" enough to water to his heart's content, and to his own pockets' aggrandizement. Thus one of these "intellectuals" pronounces the Bible HIS source of "Socialist information"; another revels in the fantasia that "money is the source of all evil"; a third writes a book to show that "Socialism means cheap goods"; a fourth substitutes the "usurer" for the "capitalist"; a fifth's substitute for the whole is the "rack-renting landlord"; the "propitiation of lords and ladies" is the hobby of several others; extensive and expensive roulades on the "fallacy of the class struggle," at any rate its inapplicability to England, are the entertainment of another set of illuminati; more recently, two of them, Pete Curran and Herbert Bur-

rows, disgraced the name of Socialism by appearing in its colors at the Boston "Peace Conference" of utopian (and also hypocritical and scheming) capitalists; and, at Amsterdam, yet another, Hyndman, with India on the brain, is too dull to understand the supreme importance of the sessions of the Committee on International Political Policy, fumes at the committee's attracting the bulk of the delegates from the sessions of the Congress, goes about like a setting hen with the pitiful Dadabhai Naorodji under his wings unable, for lack of an audience, to get the latter to cackle his piece, and finally, unable to contain himself any longer, turns the rump of the Congress into a dime museum with the wailing croak of his Hindoo;—and so forth, too numerous to enumerate in full. And, meandering in among that vast volume of dissonance, the platitudes of the "peskily-clever"-capitalist-beloved British trade union "idea" is ever heard to run like a veritable "leit-motif." It goes without saying that such an Augean stable breeds the rank weed of individual vanities. It is a regular Salvation Army pandemonium, without, however, even the redeeming feature of the Salvation Army—order. It cannot have order. The old vice, derived from the feudal lord and transmitted down by the capitalist master, runs riot in these proud inheritors of the "hereditas damnosa": each sets himself up as a God-ordained editor, or "leader": and, as mountebank would-be leaders the world over are ever seen to act, each plays at leadership to the tune of "down with leaders!"

Such was the lamentable spectacle presented by the "Socialist movement of England" until within two years ago, when several scores of men and some women, all in the vigor of life and intellect, saw their task, and bravely undertook it. Nothing like an Augean stable to call forth the Hercules. The task appeals clearly, the Hercules responds. The new movement took the name that designates the revolutionary Socialist organization of Australia, America and Canada—"Socialist Labor Party"—thus completing, with a link in Great Britain, the chain of S. L. P. organizations in the English speaking world.

The British S. L. P. was born with vitality enough immediately to set up its own tribune—the *Socialist,* published in Edinburgh. The movement touched the right chord. Its organization now spreads—not on paper as with the Social Democratic Federation—over England and Scotland. Its organ, at first a four-page publication, now is twice the size. Its membership is active, well posted, serious and determined. Theirs is the S. L. P. attitude everywhere—the sword drawn, the scabbard thrown away. Yet theirs is a task infinitely more arduous than the sufficiently arduous task that confronts the S. L. P. everywhere else. Wholly emancipated from the incubus of the hereditary mental infirmity handed down by the successive British ruling classes, the British S. L. P. has a long distance to travel before it makes up for the time lost by the previous "movement" in the work of uncompromising agitation,

education and organization. The tablets of the British workingman's mind are scribbled all over with the craziest pot-hooks put there by generations of freaks. It will take giants' hands to wipe these pot-hooks off. Moreover, infinitely taller and denser than in America is in Great Britain the petrified barrier of trade unionism constructed upon the principle of the "cooperation of classes." The flight taken by the British S. L. P. is daring. How daring may be measured by the exceptionally mountain-high difficulties to overcome. But to the brave difficulties are only encouragements.

The British S. L. P. appeared at Amsterdam with five delegates. How well these understood the responsibility that rested upon their shoulders toward the British movement, was exemplified by the firmness of their conduct in the choice they made between the alternative of admission to the Congress with disgrace, or stepping out with honor. In fact, it was the first test the young party was put to. It stood the test manfully. The alternative was forced upon them through one of those decisions of the International Bureau which were a compound of the bureau's present defects—hastiness, inconsistency and arbitrariness through defective organization. The original and sensible decision of the bureau was that every nationality consisting of only one delegation (parti unique) was to verify its own credentials; with nationalities, however, consisting of more than one delegation, each delegation was to verify its own credentials. This decision was adopted by the bu-

reau, submitted by it to the Congress on the first day, and unanimously ratified by the latter. Agreeable to the procedure thus adopted the credentials of all the delegations were verified on that same day. It was so done in the instance of the three delegations from France, and it was so done in the instance of the two delegations from America. The British S. L. P. did likewise. The other delegations from Great Britain—the Independent Labor Party (Keir Hardie group), the Labor Representation Committee (Shackleton group), Social Democratic Federation (Bax-Hyndman group), the Fabian group, and a fifth group which consisted of the latest secession in London from the Social Democratic Federation—met jointly despite the violent feuds among them at home, and jointly transacted the delegations' business. Although invited to join the picnic, the British S. L. P. held aloof. Its delegation verified its own credentials separately; reported them to the Congress on the official blanks furnished for the purpose; was read off by the chairman of the session, along with all the other delegations' reports; and, along with all the others, against which no objection was raised, was unanimously voted by the Congress to be seated. On the third day of the convention regular delegates' cards were issued by the International Bureau, without which cards no admission could be obtained to the Congress. The measure was wise, but if enforced, with due respect to the action of the Congress, both in the matter of its decision on the manner

of verifying the credentials and in the matter of its vote seating all the delegates who reported thereupon without opposition, propriety required that delegates' cards be furnished to the delegates of the British S. L. P., the same as they were furnished to all the other delegates. This was not done. The following day when the delegates of the British S. L. P. presented their original cards they were refused admission for not having the second, or regular cards. They appealed to the International Bureau. While their appeal was pending, pressing invitations were extended to them and pledges made by emissaries of the Social Democratic Federation to submit their credentials to the "British delegation." The delegates of the British S. L. P. remained firm. Any other course would have been self-stultification. The bureau denied their appeal. The conduct of the bureau was in defiance of the double vote taken by the Congress, votes in which the British S. L. P. had participated; it was also at fisticuffs with the rules otherwise in operation. For the rest, the decision, by whatever back-stairs method it was foisted upon the bureau, had no practical effect. The British S.L.P. could, anyhow, not have had a separate vote on the resolutions under the two-vote rule for nationalities. Moreover, the party's report to the Congress had been distributed before that.* The incident, nevertheless, characterizes both the present status of the Internation-

*See Add. O.

al Bureau, and the characterfulness of the young British S. L. P.

At the request of the British S. L. P., I interrupted my return home from the Amsterdam Congress with a flying agitation tour over Scotland and England. I spoke in Edinburgh, Falkirk, Glasgow and London. The meetings were good, even in London, where a driving rain materially interfered with the gathering of a crowd. The audiences were serious, attentive and so intensely interested that the attempts of some emissaries from the Augean stable to create a disturbance at all the four meetings were promptly squelched by the audiences themselves.

Though the task before the British S. L. P. may in a way seem insuperable, in another it is more promiseful. The masses seem responsive to the evangel of the Socialist Revolution, preached in straightforward, coherent language; above all in a language whose earnestness denotes the conviction born of knowledge.

ADDENDA

A.

KAUTSKY RESOLUTION.

(Paris Congress, 1900.)

In a modern democratic state the conquest of the public power by the proletariat cannot be the result of a coup de main; it must be the result of a long and painful work of proletarian organization on the economic and political fields, of the physical and moral regeneracy of the laboring class and of the gradual conquest of municipalities and legislative assemblies.

But in countries where the governmental power is centralized, it cannot be conquered fragmentarily.

The accession of an isolated Socialist to a capitalist government cannot be considered as the normal beginning of the conquest of political power, but only as an expedient, imposed, transitory and exceptional.

Whether, in a particular case, the political situation necessitates this dangerous experiment, is a question of tactics and not of principle; the International Congress has not to declare itself upon this point, but in any case the participation of a Socialist in a capitalist government does not hold out the hope of good results for the militant proletariat, unless a great majority of the Socialist party approves of such an act and the Socialist

minister remains the agent of his party. In the contrary case of this minister becoming independent of his party, or representing only a fraction of it, his intervention in capitalist government threatens the militant proletariat with disorganization and confusion, with a weakening instead of a fortifying of it; it threatens to hamper the proletarian conquest of the public powers instead of promoting it.

At any rate, the congress is of opinion that, even in such extreme cases, a Socialist must leave the ministry when the organized party recognizes THAT THE GOVERNMENT GIVES EVIDENCES OF PARTIALITY IN THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOR.

B.

DE LEON PROPOSED RESOLUTION.

(Amsterdam Congress.)

Whereas, The struggle between the working class and the capitalist class is a continuous and irrepressible conflict, a conflict that tends every day rather to be intensified than to be softened;

Whereas, The existing governments are committees of the ruling class, intended to safeguard the yoke of capitalist exploitation upon the neck of the working class;

Whereas, At the last International Congress, held in Paris, in 1900, a resolution generally known as the Kautsky resolution, was adopted, the closing clauses of which contemplate the emergency of the working class accepting office at the hands of such capitalist governments, and also, especially, presupposes the possibility of impartiality on the part of the ruling class governments in the conflicts between the working class and the capitalist class; and

Whereas, The said clauses—applicable, perhaps, in countries not yet wholly freed from feudal institutions—were adopted under conditions both in France and in the Paris Congress itself, that justify erroneous conclusions on the nature of the class struggle, the character of capitalist governments and the tactics that are imperative upon the proletariat in the pursuit of its campaign to overthrow the capitalist system in countries, which, like the United States of America, have wholly wiped out feudal institutions; therefore be it

Resolved, First, That the said Kautsky resolution be and the same is hereby repealed as a principle of general Socialist tactics;

Second, That, in fully developed capitalist countries like America, the working class cannot, without betrayal of the cause of the proletariat, fill any political office other than they conquer for and by themselves.

Offered by Daniel De Leon, Delegate of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America with

credentials from the Socialist Labor Parties of Australia and of Canada.

C.

DRESDEN RESOLUTION.

(Dresden, Germany, National Congress of German Social Democracy, 1903.)

The national convention of the party demands that, although its delegation in the Reichstag shall assert their right to fill with one of their own members the offices of first vice president and of a secretary in the Reichstag, it nevertheless declines to assume courtly obligations, or to submit to any conditions that are not founded on the constitution of the Empire.

The national convention of the party condemns to the fullest extent possible the efforts of the revisionists, which have for their object the modification of our tried and victorious policy based on the class war, and the substitution for the conquest of political power by an unceasing attack on the bourgeois, of a policy of concession to the established order of society.

The consequence of such revisionist tactics would be to turn a party striving for the most speedy transformation possible of bourgeois society into Socialist society —a party, therefore, revolutionary in the best sense of

the word—into a party satisfied with the reform of bourgeois society.

For this reason, the national convention of the party, convinced, in opposition to revisionist tendencies, that class antagonisms, so far from diminishing, continually increase in bitterness, declares:

1. That the party rejects all responsibility of any sort under the political and economic conditions based on capitalist production, and therefore can in no wise countenance any measure tending to maintain in power the dominant class.

2. The Social Democracy can strive for no participation in the government under bourgeois society, this decision being in accordance with the Kautsky resolution, passed at the International Congress of Paris in 1900.

The national convention of the party further condemns every attempt to blur the ever growing class antagonisms in order to bring about an understanding with bourgeois parties.

The national convention of the party relies upon its Reichstag delegation to use its power, increased by the increase in its own numbers and by the great accession of voters who support it, to persevere in its propaganda toward the final object of the Social Democracy, and, in conformity with our program, to defend most resolutely the interests of the working class, the extension and consolidation of political liberties, in order to obtain equal rights for all; to carry on more vigorously

than ever the fight against militarism, against the colonial and imperialist policy, against injustice, oppression and exploitation of every kind; and, finally, to exert itself energetically to perfect social legislation and to bring about the realization of the political and civilizing mission of the working class.

D.

DRESDEN-AMSTERDAM RESOLUTION.

(Amsterdam Congress.)

The Congress repudiates to the fullest extent possible the efforts of the revisionists, which have for their object the modification of our tried and victorious policy based on the class war, and the substitution, for the conquest of political power by an unceasing attack on the bourgeoisie, of a policy of concession to the established order of society.

The consequence of such revisionist tactics would be to turn a party striving for the most speedy transformation possible of bourgeois society into Socialist society—a party therefore revolutionary in the best sense of the word—into a party satisfied with the reform of bourgeois society.

For this reason the Congress, convinced, in opposition to revisionist tendencies, that class antagonisms, so

far from diminishing, continually increase in bitterness, declares:

1. That the party rejects all responsibility of any sort under the political and economic conditions based on capitalist production, and therefore can in no wise countenance any measure tending to maintain in power the dominant class.

2. The Social Democracy can strive for no participation in the government under bourgeois society, this decision being in accordance with the Kautsky resolution passed at the International Congress of Paris in 1900.

The Congress further repudiates every attempt to blur the ever growing class antagonisms, in order to bring about an understanding with bourgeois parties.

The Congress relies upon the Socialist parliamentary groups to use their power, increased by the number of its members and by the great accession of electors who support them, to persevere in their propaganda toward the final object of Socialism, and, in conformity with our program, to defend most resolutely the interests of the working class, the extension and consolidation of political liberties, in order to obtain equal rights for all; to carry on more vigorously than ever the fight against militarism, against the colonial and imperialist policy, against injustice, oppression and exploitation of every kind; and finally to exert itself energetically to perfect social legislation and to bring about the realiza-

tion of the political and civilizing mission of the working class.

E.

ADLER-VANDERVELDE PROPOSED RESOLUTION.

(Amsterdam Congress.)

The Congress affirms in the most strenuous way the necessity of maintaining unwaveringly our tried and glorious tactics based on the class war and shall never allow that the conquest of the political power in the teeth of the bourgeoisie shall be replaced by a policy of concession to the established order.

The result of this policy of concession would be to change a party which pursues the swiftest possible transformation of bourgeois society into a Socialist society, consequently revolutionary in the best sense of the word—into a party which contents itself with reforming bourgeois society.

For this reason the Congress, persuaded that the class antagonisms, far from diminishing, increase continually, states:

1. That the party declines all responsibility whatsoever for the political and economic conditions based on capitalist production and consequently cannot ap-

prove of any means which tend to maintain in power the dominant class;

2. That the Social Democracy, in regard of the dangers and the inconveniences of the participation in the government in bourgeois society, brings to mind and confirms the Kautsky resolution, passed at the International Congress of Paris in 1900.

F.

GENERAL STRIKE RESOLUTION.

(Amsterdam Congress.)

The Congress, considering that it is desirable to define the position of the Social Democracy in regard to the "general strike," declares:

(a) That the prime necessity for a successful strike on a large scale is a strong organization and a self-imposed discipline of the working class;

(b) That the absolute "general strike" in this sense, that all workers shall at a given moment lay down their work, would defeat its own object, because it would render all existence, including that of the proletariat, impossible; and

(c) That the emancipation of the working class cannot be the result of any such sudden exertion of force, although, on the other hand, it is quite possible

that a strike which spreads over a few economically important trades, or over a large number of branches of trade, may be a means of bringing about important social changes, or of opposing reactionary designs on the rights of the workers; and

Therefore warns the workers not to allow themselves to be taken in by the Anarchists, with their propaganda of the general strike, carried on with the object of diverting the workers from the really essential struggle which must be continued day by day by means of the trade unions, and political action, and cooperation; and

Calls upon its workers to build up their unity and power in the class struggle by perfecting their organization, because, if the strike should appear at any time useful or necessary for the obtainment of some political object, its success will entirely depend on that.

G.

GENERAL STRIKE PROPOSED RESOLUTION.

(Lille, France, National Congress of Socialist Party of France, 1904.)

Whereas, The collective laying down of work, or the strike, is the sole weapon left by capitalist legality, on the domain of economics, at the disposal of the pro-

letarians in the defense of their bread and their dignity;

Whereas, By causing the antagonism of interests, that characterizes the capitalist order, to flare up even in the eyes of the blindest, and, on the other hand, by awakening the class instinct among the workers, the strike is of a nature to lead the latter to the class-consciousness that can and is bound to turn them into Socialists; therefore

The Socialist party of France reminds all its members that it is their duty to affiliate with their respective trade unions, to join hands with their comrades on strike, and to aid with all their power in the triumph of revindication.

Whereas, On the other hand, a more or less extended strike, or a general strike, may, with the aid of the organization of labor and under favorable circumstances, act decisively in a revolutionary explosion; while at the same time, wherever the proletariat has no other available means of action, or is threatened with the loss of those it has, such a mass-suspension of work may be the only means either to conquer or recover such weapons;

The Socialist party of France, without assuming any responsibility in the conflicts that lie outside of its proper field, declares itself ready to fulfil its full duty in such eventualities;

But it affirms, louder than ever, that the capture of the means of production by society, depends upon the

capture of the political power by the organized proletariat—all workingmen, who have become conscious of their class, must align themselves with revolutionary Socialism, alone capable, through the political and economic expropriation of the capitalist class, to insure the well-being and freedom of all.

H.

GENERAL STRIKE PROPOSED ALLEMANIST RESOLUTION.

(Amsterdam Congress.)

Whereas, An impartial examination of the economic and political facts that, during the last years, have beset the proletariat of the several countries in the matter of the different forms of capitalist exploitation, show that the several countries, in their respective Socialist organizations, have been led to the weapon of the general strike as the most effective means to arrive at the triumph of labor's revindications, as well as to insure the defense of public liberty;

Whereas, These instances indicate how, at all acute crises, labor's consciousness turns in some spontaneous manner to the general strike, which it looks upon as one of the most powerful and withal practical weapons within its reach; therefore

The revolutionary Socialist party invites the International Congress of Amsterdam to induce all nations represented at the Congress to turn their thoughts to a study of a rational and methodical organization of the general international strike, which, without being the only weapon of the revolution, constitutes a weapon of emancipation that no true Socialist has the right to ignore or to disparage.

I.

ANTI-IMMIGRATION PROPOSED RESOLUTION.

(Amsterdam Congress.)

Fully considering the dangers connected with the immigration of foreign workingmen, inasmuch as it brings on a reduction of wages and furnishes the material for strikebreakers, occasionally also for bloody conflicts between workingmen, the Congress declares:

That, under the influence and agitation from Socialist and trade union quarters, the immigrants will gradually rank themselves on the side of the native workingmen and demand the same wages that the latter demand.

Therefore, the Congress condemns all legislative enactment that forbids or hinders the immigration of

foreign workingmen whom misery forces to emigrate.

In further consideration of the fact that WORKINGMEN OF BACKWARD RACES (CHINESE, NEGROES, ETC.) are often imported by capitalists in order to keep down the native workingmen by means of cheap labor, and that this cheap labor, which constitutes a willing object of exploitation, lives in an ill-concealed state of slavery—the Congress declares that the Social Democracy is bound to combat with all its energy the application of this means, which serves to destroy the organization of labor, and thereby to hamper the progress and the eventual realization of Socialism.

H. VAN KOLL (Holland).
MORRIS HILLQUIT (United States).
CLAUDE THOMPSON (Australia).
H. SCHLUTER (United States).
A. LEE (United States).
P. VERDORST (Holland).

J.

UNITY RESOLUTION.

(Amsterdam Congress.)

The Congress declares:

In order that the working class may develop its full strength in the struggle against capitalism, it is neces-

sary there should be but one Socialist party in each country as against the parties of capitalism, just as there is but one proletariat in each country.

For these reasons all comrades and all Socialist organizations have the imperative duty to seek to the utmost of their power to bring about this unity of the party, on the basis of the principles established by the international conventions; that unity which is necessary in the interests of the proletariat, to which they are responsible for the disastrous consequences of the continuation of divisions within their ranks.

To assist in the attainment of this aim, the International Socialist Bureau as well as all parties within the countries where unity now exists will cheerfully offer their services and cooperation.

BEBEL, KAUTSKY, ENRICO FERRI,
V. ADLER, TROELSTRA, VANDERVELDE.

K.

REPORT OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA TO THE AMSTERDAM CONGRESS.

To the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam, August 14, 1904:

Greeting: —

To judge by the frequent expressions of astonishment from European sources at what they call the

backwardness of the Socialist movement in America—a backwardness which they judge wholly by votes—the conclusion is warranted that essential features of America are not given the weight that they are entitled to, or are wholly overlooked. What these features are the country's census furnishes the material to work upon, and, again, the immortal genius of Karl Marx supplies us with the principle to guide us in the selection of the requisite categories of fact and with the norm by which to gauge and analyze the material thus gathered.

In the monograph "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," the proletarian insurrection of 1848 is used as a text for the following generalization:

"Nations enjoying an older civilization, having developed class distinctions, modern conditions of production, an intellectual consciousness, wherein all traditions of old have been dissolved through the work of centuries, with such countries the republic means only the POLITICAL REVOLUTIONARY FORM OF BOURGEOIS SOCIETY, not its CONSERVATIVE FORM OF EXISTENCE," and this grave fact is brought out forcibly by contrasting such a country, France, with "the United States of America, where true enough, the classes already exist, but have not yet acquired permanent character, are in constant flux and reflux, constantly changing their elements and yielding them up to one another; where the modern means of production, instead of coinciding with a stagnant population, rather compensate for the relative scarcity of

heads and hands; and finally, where the feverishly youthful life of material production, which has to appropriate a new world to itself, has so far left neither time nor opportunity to abolish the illusions of old."

This was written in 1852. The giant strides since made by America, her fabulous production of wealth, rise in manufacture and agriculture that practically place her at the head of all other nations in this respect, in short, the stupendous stage of capitalist development that the country has reached, would seem to remove the contrast. It does not. These changes are not enough to draw conclusions as to the stage of Socialism that may be expected. The above passages from Marx explain why, and they indicate what other factors need consideration before a bourgeois republic has left behind it its "conservative form of existence" and entered upon that "political revolutionary" stage of its life, without which a Socialist movement cannot be expected to gain its steerage way. These factors — the "permanent character" and, therefore, "intellectual consciousness" of the classes, due to the "traditions of old having been dissolved through the work of centuries"; the maturity of life of material production which, no longer having "to appropriate a new world to itself," has the requisite time and opportunity "to abolish the illusions of old," etc.—also require consideration, and require that their status be ascertained. They are essential to a final and intelligent conclusion. A rough

and rapid sketch of the facts that throw light upon these factors will clarify the situation.

Since the census facts of 1850 on which Marx drew, the continental area of the United States has been widened by not less than 1,057,441 square miles, or not far from doubled what it was in 1850; as a result, the center of population, which in 1850 was at 81 deg. 19 min. longitude, or 23 miles southwest of Parkersburg in the present State of West Virginia, has since shifted westward fully four degrees of longitude, and now lies six miles west of Columbus, Ind.; and as a further or accompanying result, the center of manufacture, which in 1850 lay at 77 deg. 25 min. longitude, near Mifflintown, Pa., has since steadily traveled westward until it has today reached 82 deg. 12 min. longitude near Mansfield in central Ohio. Nor has the westward move stopped. One more fact of importance along this line of inquiry will suffice to aid in forming an idea of the geologic lay of social conditions, so to speak. While as late as 1880, thirty years after Marx's monograph, the census returned 55,404 water wheels and no electric motors, ten years later the water wheels had fallen to 39,008 and the electric motors, starting then, have since risen to 16,923 and steam power in proportion. The situation, brought about by these facts, may be summed up by the light of the quaint report that played-out locomotive engines, which once did service on our city elevated roads and have been discarded for electric motors, now are drawing trains on the railroads in

China! Machinery and methods of production, discarded in more advanced centers, are constantly reappearing in less advanced localities, carried thither by the flux of our population westward. It goes without saying, that under such conditions, not only is the population still not "stagnant," not only is there still a "constant flux and reflux," not only is there still a "constant changing" or "yielding up to one another" by the classes, but that still the odd phenomenon is visible in America of families with members in all the classes, from the upper and plutocratic class, down through the various gradations of the middle class, down to the "house-and-lot"-owning wage slave in the shop, and even further down to the wholly propertyless proletariat. It goes without saying that, under such conditions, there still is in America that "feverishly youthful life of material production" and that, accordingly, "the illusions of old" have not yet had time to be wiped out. Nor has the immigration from Europe aided matters. On the whole it has fallen in with the stream as it flows. It is, for instance, a conservative estimate that if one-half the Europeans, now located in Greater New York, and who in their old homes pronounced themselves Socialists, remained so here, the Socialist organization in the city alone would have not less than 25,000 enrolled members. Yet there is no such membership or anything like it. The natives' old illusions regarding material prospects draw the bulk of the immigrants into their vortex.

It goes without saying that such conditions point to the existing bourgeois republic of America as still traveling in the orbit that Marx observed it in, during 1852 —at the CONSERVATIVE and not yet the POLITICAL REVOLUTIONARY form of its existence. In short, these conditions explain why, as yet, despite the stupendous development of capitalism in the country, a numerically powerful Socialist Labor Party, such as such a capitalist development might at first blush mislead the casual observer into expecting, does not and cannot yet exist. Incidentally, these conditions throw valuable light upon the nature of the "revolutionary movements" that periodically spring up, whose discordant waves angrily beat against the Socialist Labor Party, and whose mouthpieces make so much noise — abroad. It explains, for instance, the flaring up of the Single Tax movement with its 300,000 votes in the eighties; it explains the Populist movement of a decade later, in the nineties, with its 1,200,000 votes; it explains the latest of the series in direct line of succession, the so-called Socialist or Social Democratic movement of this decade with its 250,000 votes. The first two have already passed away, and the latter—after adopting a "revisionist" platform and a trade union resolution, which its own delegate to this International Congress, Mr. Ernst Untermann, admits in the *Neue Zeit* of last May 28 to be "a covert endorsement of the American Federation of Labor, which meant nothing else than a thrust at the American Labor Union, which

had seceded from the former organization in order to EMANCIPATE ITSELF FROM THE DOMINATION OF THE REACTIONISTS AND HANDMAIDS OF THE CAPITALISTS," and which, with stronger emphasis, the *American Labor Union Journal,* of May 26, hitherto an upholder of the said so-called Socialist party, deliberately brands as "COMMITTING THE PARTY TO SCAB-HERDING" —may be said to have fairly entered upon the period of its dissolution. Each of these movements successively set itself up as the AMERICAN Socialist movement and waged violent war against the Socialist Labor Party during its flickering existence, and then—dragged down and throttled by the umbilical cord of the illusions that are born from the conditions in the land sketched above* — after living its noisy day, regularly and fatedly entered upon its period of dissolution—never,

*The passage in the above article of the *American Labor Union Journal* is worth reproducing in full in that it illuminates a goodly portion of the umbilical cord that fatedly drags down and throttles all these alleged "American Socialist" movements which periodically rise against the Socialist Labor Party. This is the passage:

"The men who spoke in support of the resolution (the substitute) from Ben Hanford to Hillquit did not attempt to reply to these arguments. They kept up a constant reiteration of the charges that those who opposed the resolution are opposed to trade unions, which was a thousand miles from the truth, the facts being that the opposition was not to trade union endorsement, but to the kind of trade unionism it was sought to endorse. AS IT STANDS THE SOCIALIST PARTY IS COMMITTED TO SCAB-HERDING, organization of dual unions, misleading of the working class, the expenditure of union funds to defeat Socialist candidates, the segregation of the working class into craft units which are powerless to accomplish anything, AND IT HAS BEEN COMMITTED TO THIS BECAUSE A FEW AMBITIOUS EASTERN COMRADES WERE ANXIOUS TO MAKE THINGS

however, without regularly leaving behind a more or less solid sediment for the Socialist Labor Party, which, on the other hand, and as regularly, during the period of their rise and growth, they cleansed (by drawing to themselves) of unfit and unripe elements that, in the intervals, had gravitated toward the S. L. P. Thus, since its incipient vote of 13,337 in 1890, the first year of its real existence, the vote record of the Socialist Labor Party, during the following presidential or national campaign years, presents the following table:

In 1892—21,157 votes;
In 1896—36,564 votes;
In 1900—34,191 votes.

In 1902, not a presidential year but so far the nearest approach thereto through state elections, the vote again rose to 53,763.

If proper weight is given to the social conditions sketched above, another circumstance of much weight

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PLEASANT FOR THEMSELVES IN THE PURE AND SIMPLE UNIONS."

And in a subsequent article, June 2, the same paper explains in what consists the "making things pleasant for themselves" by the eastern members, the dominant element, in its party. It says:

"The rank and file have no axes to grind. They have no inducement TO CRAWL LIKE WHIPPED CURS AT THE FOOT OF A NATIONAL LABOR FAKER. The rank and file are not SEEKING PREFERMENT in pure and simple bodies. They are not SEEKING A DELEGATESHIP ABROAD, nor are they after AN ORGANIZER'S COMMISSION in fakerdom. They have no PAPERS TO PEDDLE in fakerdom"—in short, the umbilical cord of the private and guild interests of that eastern and dominant element of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, party is of a nature that must inevitably betray the working class, and consequently throttle the said party as its lineal ancestors did.

will transpire—the circumstance that in America, the small vote of a bona fide Socialist organization is no criterion of its strength, of the work it does, or of the Socialist sentiment in the land, in short, it is no criterion of the proximity or distance of the crowning event, the dethronement of the capitalist class. In America capitalist morality has invaded the hustings. The chicanery practised by the ruling class in the factory, the retail shop or their legalized gambling dens, known as "stock exchanges," has been introduced by them into the electoral field, and there sways supreme. The laws they have enacted to keep their respective parties from cheating each other would furnish a living Montesquieu with a matchless theme for a matchless chapter on "The Spirit of Legislation." Of course, the spirit of these anti-fraud election laws directly warrants the contending parties of the ruling class to ignore, aye, to violate them against a bona fide party of Socialism. The unseating of a Congressman for fraudulent election practices is not unknown, but it is never practiced except by the majority against the minority party when the former needs the seat. Such a thing as the unseating of a capitalist class member of the Reichstag for fraud and ordering a new election at which a Socialist candidate is elected, as has happened in Germany; or the unseating, for similar reasons, as recently happened in France, of a Count Boni de Castellane — the sharer through marriage of our American capitalist Jay Gould's millions—strikes our American capitalists, and

all others who are swayed by their modes of thought, as incomprehensibly silly. They understand it as little as western people understand the sentiment of a Japanese soldier to die rather than surrender to the Russians. What that means to a vote that really threatens the ruling class is obvious. Obvious, consequently, is the fact that the day of the Socialist vote is not yet. The capitalist corruptionists thwart today the fiat of the ballot. But monkeying with the thermometer never yet affected the temperature.

Accordingly, the criterion of the seaworthiness of a Socialist movement in the waters of American conditions is the character of its agitational, educational and organizing propaganda; the quantity and quality of the literature it soaks the country with; the strictness of its self-imposed discipline; the firmness and intrepidity of its posture. The Socialist Labor Party has now for four years published the only Socialist daily paper in the English-speaking world—the *Daily People;* for the last thirteen years it has published a weekly—the *Weekly People.* These, besides the vast literature that it publishes through its press—much of it original, much of it translations of the best that the revolutionary movements in other languages have produced—are standard in the English-speaking movement. They breathe the uncompromising spirit that American conditions render imperative to a Socialist movement unless it is ready either to render itself ridiculous, or to betray the working class with revisionist flap-doodleism.

Accordingly, the Socialist Labor Party never withholds a blow at wrong lest it make an enemy, or lose a friend. It yields to no lures. If in other countries conditions allow, or perchance require, a different course, not so here: the Socialist Labor Party of America hews close to the line. In its war upon the capitalist class, the Party allows not itself to be used as a prop for that class; whether the capitalist formation appear in the shape of a trust, or in that of a revamped bourgeois guild, sailing under the false colors of "trade unionism," the Party ruthlessly exposes both—IT EXPOSES BOTH—even though workingmen may hold stock in the former, the trust, as the so-called trade union of the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers does in Carnegie's United States Steel Corporation; and even if it be workingmen who constitute the rank and file of the revamped bourgeois guilds sailing under the flag of trade unionism, and thereby keep the working class divided by the Chinese Walls of prohibitive high dues and initiation fees, or other guild practices, as many so-called trade unions do. The unflinching attitude imposed upon a bona fide party of Socialism in America is incomprehensible to the successive waves of alleged revolutionary movements and American reformers generally, who with the tenacity of a disease turn up and turn down on the country's political stage. Being incomprehensible to them, the Socialist Labor Party is the object of their violent animosity and is successively pronounced dead by them—on paper. The Socialists

of Europe will understand this phenomenon when they are told that the identical epithets which the Millerand-Jaures revisionists of France bestow upon the Parti Socialiste de France —"ill-natured," "narrow," "intolerant," etc., etc.—have been and continue to be bestowed with monotonous regularity by these American "revisionists" upon the Socialist Labor Party.

It is this "ill-nature," "narrowness," "intolerance," etc., that is urging on the day of the dethronement of the American capitalist class. At the time of the McKinley assassination in 1901, for instance, when the capitalist class tried to profit by the event to root up all impulse toward its overthrow, all voices with one exception, that had at all seemed in opposition to class rule, were silenced, they dared not utter themselves. That solitary exception was the voice of the Socialist Labor Party. Scores of its speakers were arrested and otherwise persecuted, yet they held their ground and triumphed over the attempt to throttle the voice of the proletariat. Capitalist development in America is now steadily overtaking and overcoming the obstacles that Marx enumerated for the conservative form of the American bourgeois republic to enter upon its political revolutionary form. Things are ripening rapidly. When the day of the vote shall have arrived for the Socialist movement of America that vote will be counted—or the men whom the Socialist Labor Party is gathering and drilling WILL KNOW THE REASON WHY. The backwardness of the Socialist movement in Amer-

ica is on the surface only. Whatever the thermometer of the Socialist vote, monkeyed with by capitalist corruption, may register, the temperature is rising.

The S. L. P. platform demands—and the Party's every act is in strict accordance with the demand—the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class; and the Party is guided exclusively by the polar star of the principle that the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself. The Party takes nothing less because it knows that anything less means revisionism.

DANIEL DE LEON,
Delegate of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America.

By order of the National Executive Committee, S.L.P.,
HENRY KUHN, National Secretary.

New York, July 15, 1904.

L.

REPORT OF THE DELEGATE TO THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTIES OF AUSTRALIA AND OF CANADA.

Comrades:—Entrusted as the delegate of the Socialist Labor Party of America to the late International

Socialist Congress of Amsterdam, with credentials from your respective organizations, I beg to submit to you my report in what refers to yourselves in particular.

On the official list published by the Congress, Canada and Australia appear as separately represented nationalities. Such, however, is the unreliability of the printed bulletins of the Congress, due to the disorder that marked its administration, that probably a correction will be found necessary as to Canada, and certainly a footnote as to both Canada and Australia. Let it be stated at the outset that the Socialist Labor Parties of the above two countries cannot appear as having been officially represented in the Congress. They were so incidentally, in so far as, in the only matter of importance in the Congress, their names appear attached to my signature as two of the three bodies from whom I bore credentials. That this should be so, and the resulting consequence, due to which the Socialist Labor Parties of Canada and Australia cannot be held responsible for any vote or abstinence of voting that may appear attached to those countries, is a historic incident of the Congress that it will be well to place on record.

At the previous congress (Paris, 1900) an International Bureau was established with headquarters at Brussels. In the course of a series of articles, which I shall have in the *People* supplemental to my first report of the Amsterdam Congress to the S. L. P. of America, I shall take up more in detail the matter of

this International Bureau. Suffice it at present to say that the original purpose of the bureau was to facilitate international communication between the several Socialist organizations of the world, each nationality being entitled to two members on the bureau. At the Amsterdam Congress the bureau assumed, and I think justly, the functions of a general committee of the Congress to facilitate its procedures. Accordingly, on the morning of the opening of the Congress a printed slip from the bureau was circulated among the delegates laying down certain general regulations. One of these was to the effect that "each NATIONALITY was to verify its own credentials." The regulations on the slip were in the nature of committee suggestions for the Congress to pass upon. Upon these suggestions being submitted to the Congress, the International Secretary, M. Serwy, stated expressly that a typographical error had crept into the clause that I quoted above. Instead of each NATIONALITY verifying its credentials, the bureau's actual proposition was that such verification by NATIONALITIES was to be only in the instances in which a nationality had only one party—"parti unique"; but that in all other cases—the cases of nationalities with several parties—the verification of credentials was to be done by each party separately.

The reason for this was obvious. France, an important nationality, had two rival, aye, hostile parties—the Parti Socialiste de France (Guesdist or anti-ministerialist party) and the Parti Socialiste Francais

(the Jaures-Millerand pro-ministerialist concern). Whether the Jaures party would be willing to submit to a joint verification of credentials with the Guesdist party I know not. Perhaps it would have liked it. Such a course would be in keeping with its scuttle-fish, confusion-raising policy. Certain, however, it is that the Guesdist party would under no circumstances tolerate such intimacy. Furthermore, there was a third French party, the Allemanist body. This body, though small, is full of pretensions. It calls itself the "French Revolutionary Labor party." Its leader is Allemane, a flannel-mouthed blatherskite, whose leading principle is the cart-before-the-horse idea of a "general strike." As Allemane pretends to represent the trade unions the bureau did not like to kick him out, nor did it like to force him into making common cause with the Guesdists, whom it detests, or with the Jauresists, whom it affects to dislike. In view of all this the bureau's decision was what it was—each PARTY was to verify its own credentials. The proposition was concurred in by the Congress. Agreeable therewith, I filled out the blanks furnished for the purpose—one with the list of the delegates of the S. L. P. of America and one each with my name as bearing credentials from the Socialist Labor Parties of Australia and Canada. I handed the blanks myself to Plechanoff, who acted that day as vice-president and was in charge of all the delegations' blanks. He handed them over one after another to the chairman, they were read off and concurred in by the

Congress. That was on Sunday, the first day of the Congress.

The very next day the Congress virtually went into recess and continued so until Thursday evening, to await the report of the most important committee of all—the Committee on International Political Tactics. In the meantime, every morning and afternoon, about an hour before the regular hour for the Congress or committee to meet, the bureau held a session to decide upon matters and contests that were coming up. Learning that the matter of the "Jewish Bund" (Russian) was to come up before the bureau on Tuesday afternoon, I attended that bureau's session, curious to get an insight into that curious "Jewish Bund" development. When the discussion on that closed and the bureau was just about to rise, I learned by the merest accident that the credentials of the Socialist Labor Parties of Australia and Canada were being "held up," on the ground that "no one had appeared to defend them"!!! This was news to me. I insisted on the spot, despite the objections raised by Mr. H. Meyer Hyndman, that the matter be taken up first thing the next morning. It was so decided.

Next Wednesday morning I forced the matter to an issue. It was by that time clear to me that the continental members of the bureau had unwittingly allowed themselves to be trepanned by the said Hyndman. I first of all protested against a procedure that left the party interested—myself in the case—in the dark, so

wholly in the dark that it was by the merest accident I had discovered that there were objections raised to the Australian and Canadian credentials. The Congress had been in session three days and I had not been notified as decorum required. I stated that, unsolicited by myself or my Party, the Socialist Labor Parties of Australia and Canada had selected the S. L. P. of America to represent them. I recognized the obvious impropriety of any one delegate or nationality casting proxy votes. I claimed no such extraordinary privilege. All I claimed for the Socialist Labor Parties of Australia and Canada was the right of an official place on the list of the parties present in the Congress. And I placed my credentials before the bureau.

Mr. H. Meyer Hyndman raised objections to that. His first objection was, how can a single delegate verify his own credentials? He was knocked out by my showing that Katayama, the delegate of Japan, was a single delegate; that as such he had verified his own credentials, and that no objection was raised. Driven out of that ditch the next he leaped into was that Australia and Canada were colonies, like Poland; that they were part of the "British Empire," and could not receive separate recognition. I met that, first, by illustrating the absurdity of placing Australia and Canada alongside of Poland in the colonial scale, and, secondly, by pointing to the fact that the utterly dependent Poland had not only a separate seat, but actually a SEPARATE VOTE IN THAT CONGRESS. When Mr.

Hyndman recovered his breath from that knock-out blow, he fell back upon "courtesy." He pleaded with the bureau that the matter be first brought up before the British delegation, and see if they had any objection. I made it clear that I would not go in session with that delegation. You, Australian and Canadian comrades, must know that the young, brilliant and aggressive Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain, although implored to by Mr. Hyndman and others of the British delegation to join them in the verification of credentials, justly refused. The British delegation was a bogus delegation whose members issued credentials to one another at the Congress; moreover, in that delegation was the notorious "labor leader" and capitalist placeman Shackleton, who openly advocates child labor, to say nothing of Mr. Hyndman himself, whose false comprehension of Socialism causes him to look to the middle class for the overthrow of capitalism. Rather than associate with such elements, the responsible factors for the backward state of the labor movement in Britain, the delegation of the British Socialist Labor Party stayed out of the Congress. For the same reasons I refused to associate the Socialist Labor Parties of Australia and Canada with the Hyndman-Shackleton outfit. I yielded the extreme point of courtesy by accepting that action be deferred until Mr. Hyndman had consulted his delegation. But I insisted that Mr. Hyndman was to consult his delegation that same day and notify me forthwith. Before the bureau he gave his

word that he would. I made him repeat the pledge twice. I was through. The Congress adjourned without my receiving any notification. Mr. Hyndman proved himself a peanut politician, a man who did not respect his own word. He seemed happy at what, in the smallness of his mind, he took for a move that outmaneuvered me. In point of fact I had but given him rope for him to hang himself. If the matter of keeping out the Socialist Labor Parties of Australia and Canada was of importance, it deserved honorable and straightforward handling; if it was unimportant it was peanut politics to indulge in the duplicity that Mr. Hyndman did.

For the rest all such maneuvers fell short of real effect. The only matter of importance before the Congress was the attitude on international politics. The subject was threshed out in the committee, which in point of fact was the real Congress. Before that committee I presented the following resolution in the name of the S. L. P. of America: (See Add. B.)

The resolution was printed and circulated in the committee and the Congress. As you will notice, it bears my signature. not merely as the delegate of the S. L. P. of America, but also as the carrier of the mandates of the Socialist Labor Parties of Australia and Canada. De facto, accordingly, these two organizations remain inscribed as participants in the transactions of the Congress on no less a subject than the one embodied in the resolution.

You will ere this have seen my first report to my own Party on this particular subject. I beg you to incorporate that report in this. I shall here only add that the situation was this: At Paris the Kautsky resolution was adopted amid cheers for Jaures-Millerand; in Amsterdam, the Dresden resolution, which smuggles in the endorsement of the Kautsky resolution, was adopted amid curses for Jaures-Millerand. My own resolution being defeated, I wheeled in line with the Dresden resolution. I deliberately refused to abstain from voting. The only thing to do was by my vote to add swing to the crack over the head administered to the Jaures party, and in that way give all the aid possible to the Guesdist party in France—the only S. L. P. body of continental Europe.

For a further and detailed report on many other matters of interest concerning the Congress, I beg to refer you to the series of articles which I shall presently publish in the *People*.

Yours fraternally,
DANIEL DE LEON.

M.

REVIEW OF THE DRESDEN CONGRESS.

For reasons, scores of times enlarged upon in these columns, the Social Democracy of Germany has ceased to be a pace-setter for the Socialist movement of the

world. For the reasons so often analyzed, the Socialist movement of Germany has been compelled to deflect its course, and face and solve the issues left unfaced and unsolved by the nation's bourgeoisie. This notwithstanding, aye, for that very reason, the acts of the German Social Democracy are well worth the close attention of the militant Socialism of this country. As the native land of Marx, Engels and Lassalle, and that in which the Socialist movement first took tangible shape nearly forty years ago, the forced evolution that that Socialist movement has undergone in Germany, is of more than historic interest. The late Dresden Convention typifies the leading features of that evolutionary process, and the sooner they are generally understood the better.

Bird's-Eye View.

The Dresden Convention met on September 13 and adjourned on September 20, 1903. Altogether it was in session eight days. Subtracting from these eight days the first day and a half, spent in general oratory, in which foreign "visiting delegations" took a part, and about a day given to minor matters, such as Bebel's complaints against the *Vorwaerts,* the Polish question, parliamentary activity, the Amsterdam Congress, etc., there were about five days given to the real issues before the body. These were two, at least they were presented under distinct heads and culminated in the adoption of two distinct resolutions—a resolution on

the activity of party members in the bourgeois press, and one on the tactics of the party. In point of fact, the two issues were one, the first only serving as a prelude to the second. The issue underlying both was a practical one of tactics. On this subject the debate consumed all the actual working time of the congress.

A bird's-eye view of the debate presents a paradox. Feeling ran high. Hard words were exchanged. Indeed, it has been said by those who should know that never was a German Social Democratic convention so heated. And yet not a disputant on either side, none of any account at any rate, but declared that "at no time was the party so united as it is now." As if this were not enough of a paradox, the resolutions were adopted with virtual unanimity (283 to 24 on the first, 288 to 11 on the second). Were these men children, who quarreled over nothing? Or were they hysterical school girls who scratch one another's faces and as readily kiss and make up? They were none of that. Then, there was an issue? Indeed there was, and a serious one. To complete the series of paradoxes in the bird's-eye view of the debate, the serenest of the disputants, the most good-natured, those who, with greatest moderation, and dignity withal, retorted to the vehement onslaughts against them, were that nominally trivial minority. Indeed, whatever brilliancy of satire, of wit or ridicule flashed through the congress hall, proceeded from that quarter. And well it might. All the facts, hence all the arguments applicable to the situation, were

with that side. They knew themselves victors. Hence, why ill-nature? As a traveler, overtaken by a sudden squall on the road, good-naturedly, though perhaps critically, watches the storm's excesses, taking only simple measures to keep the wet off, and knowing the storm is bound to abate, when he will again regain the mastery and tranquilly resume the even tenor of his route, so did the nominally trivial minority at the Dresden Congress deport itself. It revealed the aplomb of habitual, certain and inevitable ascendancy. What with the superficial press reports and interested journalistic commentaries, the impression conveyed of the congress is exactly the opposite. To the extent that this false impression prevails the instruction conveyed by the Dresden Congress is lost.

History of Tactics.

The history of the German Social Democracy on the party's tactics, sketched step by step by the nominal minority, and left uncontradicted by the nominal majority, has traversed the following leading episodes:

—At an early date, on the motion of Liebknecht, the small Socialist delegation in the Reichstag decided upon the tactics they were to adopt. These were to utilize every opportunity in that body to assert their negative and protesting principles, and to keep strictly aloof from parliamentary transactions, proper. And the point was emphasized by Liebknecht in a pamphlet in which the rule of conduct was explained thus:

"This negative position may not be given up, else the party would give up its principle. Under no circumstances and on no field may the Social Democracy negotiate with the enemy. Negotiations can be conducted only where there is a common ground to stand on. To negotiate with forces that are hostile on matters of principle, means to sacrifice principle itself. Principle is indivisible. It is either wholly kept, or wholly sacrificed. The slightest concession on matters of principle infers the abandonment of principle. Whosoever parliamentarizes log-rolls; who log-rolls is bound by purchase."—This indisputable norm for the parliamentary posture of the Socialist Revolution, once accepted, was later given up, despite the cry of "treason!" and "parliamentary quagmire!" The party since pursued the course of parliamentarizing with its opponent.

—In 1875, when the then two Socialist wings of Germany—the Marxists and the Lassalleans—were about to unite, Marx issued a circular letter, intended especially for some of the leaders of the Marxist wing. In this letter Marx analyzes and condemns the program, under which the fusion was to be perfected, as "bourgeois," "objectionable," "demoralizing," a "dickering in principles," a proof that "Socialist ideas were only skin-deep with the party"; and he warned that "everybody knows how pleased workingmen are with the fact of a union, but you are mistaken if you believe that this momentary success is not bought too dearly." And Bebel, then in prison for his revolutionary attitude,

issued from his confinement a letter of protest declaring "he could not join in the fusion, and when his nine months were out, he would raise the banner of revolt against it." — The warning was disregarded: the bourgeois-labeled program was adopted: the fusion was perfected: the threatened revolt never set in.

—In 1884, energetic protests were raised against the representation of the Social Democratic Reichstag delegation in the "Senioren Konvent"—a convention of "captains of industry," without official functions or power, and intended for the interchange of views on labor and kindred matters. Participation in such bodies was pronounced "a violation of the revolutionary principle," "a disgrace to the dignity of the freeman," "a comedy," "a diplomatic flank-move looking to reconciliation," "a fly in the ointment of the late election successes," and the "proletariat was to awake and winnow the chaff from the wheat." Bebel, reporting the Frankfort meeting that started the protest, wrote of it: "It is not true that the meeting consisted of furious Anarchists. It consisted of the best and oldest comrades, and was animated by the best of spirits." — "Since then," said Vollmar in Dresden, "we have grown accustomed to the matter; much is not to be gained from these conventions, but they are valuable sources of information."

—At the time of the Cologne Congress a bitter debate took place on the subject of the so-called equitable labor or employment bureaus, which had just started,

especially in South Germany, and in the first convention of which bourgeois and Social Democratic representatives took a part. It was again Bebel who led the assault. He declared such acts a "prancing in knee-breeches" and a "lowering of tone"; to appeal to the "general philanthropy of the bourgeois classes" was in "direct opposition to the idea of the class struggle."—Two years later, Bebel and other Social Democrats joined just such a convention of bourgeois philanthropists in Zurich; and their participation in such conventions has since continued in regular order, as a matter of course.

—The attitude of subserviency to the government, struck by the trade unions, notably by the compositors, was at first hostilized by the party as an attitude that "dulled the edge of the class struggle." It was ridiculed. The typographical union was dubbed "His Prussian Majesty's Union."—The party gave up that policy.

—The caucuses of the Reichstag delegation of the party are frequently convulsed with heated debates on the attitude to be taken on the bourgeois reform methods, introduced in the Reichstag, especially with regard to the deceptive, but seemingly favorable, "labor" bills. At such caucuses the argument has been made: "It is quite impossible for us to abandon our position and vote for these bills. Who of us would dare appear after that at the labor meetings? The very edge of our agitation and the traditional posture of the party would be

dulled and sacrificed." — The bills were regularly supported.

—The election laws for the Prussian Landtag elections are such that, to participate in them, the Social Democracy would have to enter into deals with bourgeois parties. At the Cologne Congress of 1893 the question of going into the Prussian Landtag elections was raised and thunderingly voted down. Bebel again led. "A compromise with the hostile parties," he declared, "cannot choose but lead to the demoralization of the party." The proposed step was pronounced "a compromise in the worst sense of the word," and it was laid down, as a matter of duty, that the party was to abstain from the suffrage at the Landtag elections.— At the Mainz Congress of 1900, Bebel himself ceased to see any objection to the "cattle-trade" (Kuhhandel); he declared he had changed his views; he regretted the strong expressions used at Cologne; and he announced a new principle: "Compromise is an agreement with another for mutual support, to the end of reaching that which cannot be reached with unaided effort. Why raise such a howl against that!" — The Cologne decision was, accordingly, formally reversed, and the new principle was pursued.

—The election laws for municipal elections are open to objections similar to those for the Landtag. The electorate is divided into property classes. In 1884, the Berlin party adopted a resolution against participa-

tion in the election for municipal officers on the ground that:

"Participation in class elections is a violation of the party's platform, and it nowise promotes the development of the workingman's party. On the contrary, it promotes the opportunities for self-seeking politicians, and this has a corrupting influence."—The Berlin party shortly after gave up its stand. Closing the argument on this head, and alluding to the anti-vice-presidential arguments, which condemned the idea of Social Democrats putting on knee-breeches on court occasions, as required of the vice-presidents, Vollmar remarked:

"The municipal officers of Berlin proudly carry a chain of office from which hangs the image of Frederick William III. Think of it! Knee-breeches will burn one's thighs; but the royal image may be carried on the breast!"

There still remains an episode, the crowning one of all. But this is not yet the place to cite it. This, however, is a place of sufficient elevation to pause for a moment, look backward and take a preliminary comprehensive view of the lay of the land.

For one thing, sufficient facts have been cited to warrant the summary with which Vollmar introduced his sketch of the history of the party's tactics, and to quote it here as one of the characterizations of the situation. He said:

"The thought has been recently expressed that it was a pity we had not yet a 'History of Tactics.' It

might rather be called a 'History of the Stagnation of the German Social Democracy.' It would be in no small degree interesting to learn from it what all has been condemned among us as 'watering,' as 'repudiation of principles,' as 'violation of traditions,' as 'abandonment of the principle of the class struggle,' etc.; how, regularly after each such sentence, the Social Democracy quaffed down the ingredients of the alleged poisoned chalice, and liked them; and how, thereupon, the old 'poison' label was speedily transferred to some new cup."

For another thing, the outlines of two conflicting streams are plainly in sight. Leaping forward for an instant, to the field of the Dresden Convention, the two groups may be described by their leading exponents—Bebel and Vollmar.

Von Vollmar.

Whether Vollmar is equipped with the requisite erudition consciously to steer his course by the constellations that preside over the German socio-political waters, and sails "by chart," aware of the currents he navigates and the soundings of the shallows, or whether only instinct guides him, matters not. Vollmar is a Socialist—in the sense that he foresees the ultimate breakdown of capitalism, and is ready enthusiastically to lend a helping hand toward the raising of the Socialist Republic, as the only ultimate goal yet in sight worthy of man's efforts. But he is not a revolutionary Socialist.

Whatever else Vollmar might be elsewhere, he can be none in Germany. Intelligent or sentient, he has adapted his conduct to local exigencies. In a country still so feudal that the organic law of the land can be changed only with the consent of the Kaiser; in a country still so far back politically that institutional improvements have, as of olden days, to be virtually octroied from above; in a country still so politically primitive that, by constitutional enactment, the monarch's sword can outweigh in the balance the combined will of the people and parliament;—in such a country there are still tall and wide mountain ranges to be tunnelled by the drill of bourgeois reform, and of useful reform generally. There the season for the Social Revolution is not yet.

With guile, or innocent purpose, the effort is often made to blur "revolution" into "reform," and "reform" into "revolution"; and, with innocent purpose, or with guile, the attempt is not infrequently made to stampede the argument into an acceptance of the blur by holding up "cataclysm" as the only alternative. Dismissing the "argument" of cataclysm as unbecoming, and the "cataclysmic threat" for the mere phrasebogey that it is, the point of contact between "reform" and "revolution"—meaning by the latter the Socialist Revolution —lies too far back here to merit attention. They are "horses of different color," or, dropping slang, children of different parents. The line that separates them is sharp. "Reform" infers a common ground between

contestants; "revolution" the absence of such ground. The two terms are mutually repellent in social science. Socialism is nothing if not revolution. There is no common ground between the contestants. With Socialism, on the one hand, and the system of private ownership in natural and social opportunities, or class rule, on the other, each stands on ground that is mutually abhorrent. The two cannot deal, barter or log-roll. They can meet only to clash, and for extermination.

It does not alter the principle here laid down that, at a time in England, and even now in Germany, bona fide reform could and can be wrung from the possessing classes for the working class. On the contrary, where such reforms are possible, they are so just because a true Socialist movement is not yet possible—a feudal class, still mighty, though crowded by its upstart rival, the capitalist, and just because of being thus crowded, will lend a helping hand to what instinctively it feels to be its rising rival's predestined slayer. SO LONG AS SUCH REFORMS ARE TO BE GAINED, THEY SHOULD BE STRIVEN FOR; but so long as they are to be gained, the struggle is not yet between Socialism and private property in natural and social opportunities, that is, between two foes standing upon irreconcilable ground: the struggle still is between capitalism and feudalism, that is, foes standing on the common ground of class rule: the reign of the bourgeois is not yet absolute: the path is still barred by feudalism: the season is not yet for a Socialist movement. Per contra, the moment feudalism is swept aside, and capitalism

wields the scepter untrammeled, as here in America—from that moment the ground is ready for revolution to step on; what is more, from that moment reform becomes a snare and a delusion. It virtually is no more to be had. As shown in the second of the "Two Pages from Roman History," reforms then become palliatives, and these are but palliations of wrong; or it is sops, and these are banana peels under foot—in either case destructive of the revolutionary fibre and directness, a bane to its alleged beneficiaries. Where the thought of "Socialism" rises in conjunction with that of "reform," or of "reform" with that of "Socialism," the Socialism can only be, either—as is happening here in America in the instance of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic party—a manifestation of puerility doused with speculative schemes; or—as one time in England, and now in Germany — a latter-day adaptation of the "Christianity" of Clovis, that is, an aspiration after an ideal, too ideal, however, to be seriously contemplated, and consequently is decorously put away in a niche to be reverenced, while serious, practical thought is turned to the hard, practical reality.

The group in the German Social Democracy, of which Vollmar is the leading exponent, sentient or intelligent, strained for the only field of vantage that the backward conditions of the land provided. Seeing the absence of the field for revolutionary Socialism to deploy on, it strained and carried the movement to take its stand on the field of radical bourgeoisism, that is, of reform. With the common ground among the contest-

ants implied in reform, the Socialist Vollmar parliamentarizes — with all that that implies. Nor does such conduct at all infer intellectual obliquity. Nothing more natural, aye, unavoidable, than that a belated radical bourgeois movement in our days should be strongly flavored with revolutionary Socialist feeling and terminology—least of all when, as in this instance, it started Socialist. Accordingly, as sketched above, the early and wise warning of Marx against fusion at Gotha was reverently niched; Liebknecht's masterly apothegm on the parliamentary attitude of the Socialist movement was decorously shelved, by himself included; and one after another, despite opposition and condemnation, those tactics were successively taken up and enthusiastically pursued, which denoted the gradual placing of itself by the German Social Democracy on that common ground of battle where the contestants may, are expected to, and must barter.

Bebel.

The struggle with the Vollmar stream is the stream typified by Bebel. Bebel's Dresden speeches which have thrilled the hearts of the militant Socialists the world over and will be translated for the readers of the *People* as a type of the revolutionary lyric—vigorous, unsparing, elevating, uncompromising and pure—are the most fervid of the series that have yet proceeded from his side of the house, at the various stages in the above recorded evolutionary process of his party's tactics. "All the world loves a lover." Infinitely more sym-

pathetic than the practical Vollmar, Bebel, it must, nevertheless, be conceded, has failed to subordinate his ideal to the circumstances. His fires proved proof against facts. Though banked, they never have been extinguished. Always heating the mass, that, in the end, ever prevailed against them, and thus ever imparting a glamor to his party, they periodically would break and leap forth in tongues of lambent flame—soul-stirring, warning. But their language could be none other than that of protest. Periodically, when a new shoot downward was shot in its course by the current that Bebel was constrained to drift with, a new shock was felt. Ever at such recurring periods, the reminiscences and ideals of his own and his party's youth would reassert themselves: they would then win the upper hand of their latest enforced silence, as they now did at Dresden, and carry the day: and then—as happened regularly before, and poetically expressed by Vollmar—the ingredients of the alleged poisoned chalice would be quaffed anew and found palatable, and the "poison" label would be transferred to some fresh cup: the Bebel-swollen flood of the nominal majority would again recede: the Vollmar ebb of the nominal minority would return and resume control.

A Third Element.

None who ever studied history closely, none who ever watched the actions of large masses of men, will fail to scent from the preceding sketch the existence of a third, not stream, but body, besides the two leading

streams above outlined. With the flux and reflux of such streams of human action, there must be a third—not stream, because it has no life of its own, but—group or pool; a group, not made up of the shadings of the two main streams, but of distinct physiognomy, a physiognomy *sui generis*. Indeed, there is such a group. Devoid of convictions, devoid of the practical sense of a Vollmar that tends to solidify ideals, devoid of the moral and mental exaltation of a Bebel that tends to idealize the practical, the group in question consists of theorickers, who riot in theory. Their delight is to turn out such merchandise according as occasion, and the most contradictory at that, may demand, in phrases symmetrically rounded. The type of this group is Kautsky: its feature "to run with the hares and bark with the hounds." Here is the place to cite that latest and crowning episode, merely referred to above, in the tactical history of the German Social Democracy as furnished by the Dresden Convention itself, and from the elevation of which the eye will be enabled to embrace a full view of the lay of the land.

Millerandism.

The Socialist movement of France held its breath in amazement when, in 1898, Millerand, a member of one of its organizations, accepted a cabinet portfolio at the hands of the bourgeois government, and took his seat in that executive body, beside General Galliffet, the butcher of the Commune. Whatever hope against hope may have at first lingered in the minds of the serious

French Socialists was soon dispelled by Millerand's placid continuance in the cabinet, after the orders issued that provoked the military butcheries of the striking workingmen at Chalon and that upheld the military butcheries of the striking workingmen at Martinique. That which, based upon a long uninterrupted series of facts, theory had before then established, was but confirmed in the instance of Millerand. It is no longer a matter open to discussion. The Socialist Revolution has no common ground with class rule. Despite the bugaboos of "clericalism!" and "the republic in danger!" periodically gotten up by the French bourgeoisie, France, though not advanced to the capitalist height of America, is well out of her feudal swaddling clothes. There, as here, "reform" is now a snare and a delusion; there, as here, the ground is solid for the revolutionary movement to step on, and proceed from: to tread the path of barter, as Millerand did, is there, as it is here, when not visionary, corrupt. The Millerand barter rent the French Socialist movement in twain. The earnest Socialists, headed by Guesde, repudiated Millerand; the reformers, headed by Jaures, upheld him. The International Socialist Congress met when the discussion was at its height. The two factions (if the Jaures element can, except in scorn, be termed a Socialist faction) rushed into the hall, the latter seeking international justification, the former the international condemnation of the theory—to say nothing of the practical betrayers of Socialism. It is enough of a commentary on the structure of these International Social-

ist Congresses that such an issue could at all rise in their midst. It did. It was the one issue before the body; and it took shape in a resolution, since known to fame as the

"Kautsky Resolution."

The "Kautsky resolution" is a product typical of its source. It is a panel, painfully put together, of symmetrically rounded theses and antitheses on the ministerial question, in which "the head eats up the tail." This feature of the resolution is so marked that — despite the closing sentence distinctly enough giving up the class struggle by conceiving the possibility of "impartiality on the part of a capitalist government in the struggles between capital and labor"—it gave rise to a verbose controversy as to whether or not it favored Millerandism. The Dresden Convention shed, however, such a light upon the matter that further controversy is now more than ever vain, and in the light that it shed, the crowning episode, so far, in the consistent history of the German Social Democracy, is fully illumined.

In the course of his speech, Auer, the gifted lieutenant of Vollmar, deliberately let fall a pregnant scrap of information. Said he:

"I went along as a delegate to the International Congress at Paris. It devolved upon me to speak in the name of the German delegation. And to what motion did I speak? To the Kautsky resolution on the ministerial question. Kautsky and others had framed the

resolution. It contains not a syllable of my own. I do not tackle such dangerous experiments, when I know there are comrades who are better hands at such matters. *I spoke amid the plaudits of all our delegates, of Kautsky included,* who was the father of the whole affair, and who had furnished me with the line of argument for my speech. Kautsky was then delighted to see 'Old Auer' again pull through so well. There was not one among us German delegates in Paris, who, at that time, took upon this question the stand that, for reasons which I care not here to enlarge upon, shaped itself later. And it has come to the pass that now a fellow is actually looked upon as a very questionable comrade who does not consider the ministry of Millerand an act of turpitude, and does not see in Jaures a man, who, as a result of his revisionist inclinations, means to lead the party away from classconsciousness and into the bourgeois camp. Gentlemen, *that should have been stated at the time, in Paris.* In that case I would, probably, not have spoken, and the charge could not now be made. If Kautsky was then of an opinion different from that he holds today, he surely has no right to blame those who today are still of the same opinion as he was then."

And Kautsky, who spoke after, left these statements of fact uncontradicted, and, taken off his guard, even supplemented them with the information:

"Auer said in Paris: 'True enough, a Millerand case has not yet arisen among us [in Germany]: we

are not yet so far: but I hope we may reach the point at the earliest day possible.' " ! ! !

Thus, the gory specter of the traitor Millerand stalking across the floor of the International Congress at Paris, and the very window-panes of the hall still rattling to the musketry that butchered the workers of Chalon and Martinique, the "Kautsky resolution" was introduced, was recommended by such language and was carried, the German delegation voting solidly for it, and — typical of the modern international status, and to the lasting glory of the Socialist Labor Party— the rank and file of its delegation forced the wabbly Lucien Sanial to stand straight, and cast the solid vote of the delegation against it.

Was it an accident that Auer was chosen by Kautsky to make the speech of the German delegation at Paris? "Do you imagine," asked Kautsky at Dresden, affecting horror, "that I approved these utterances of Auer's?" If he disapproved, yet he held his tongue there where, as Auer well observed, disapproval should have been expressed, and he indulged in applause only. But nine-tenths of the European movement is either caught in the identical trammels of belated and now necessary radical bourgeois reform, that the German Social Democracy is caught in; or its representatives, as happened with the English Social Democratic Federation, were stage-strutters, seeking notoriety. At the Paris Congress an anti-Millerandist attitude was decidedly unpopular; there Kautsky was "running with the hares." Subsequently, when the reaction set in;

when the stand taken by the trivial minority at Paris began to operate; when the baneful effect of the "Kautsky resolution" upon the French Socialist movement was realized, then followed a series of excuses, dodgings and hedgings, to the extent that *Iskra*, the organ of the Russian Social Democratic Labor party, wittily satirized both author and resolution as the "Kaoutchouc (India rubber) resolution." The situation in Germany was, moreover, aggravated by the top-heavy and irritating pranks of Bernstein—a gentleman whose measure the *People* took at an early date and exposed—and of other "free speech" intellectuals of his ilk. The fires of Bebel (who was absent from Paris) long dormant, leaped forth again in tongues of flame, until the landmark of Dresden was reached and passed, with Kautsky again to the fore, but now "barking with the hounds."

Virtual Unanimity Despite Seeming Differences.

If the Marxian-Morgan law of social evolution holds good; if the attestation of its soundness — as recorded in the sketch of the history of the German Social Democracy on the party's tactics, culminating with the "Kautsky resolution" and Auer's speech hoping for a German Millerand, both enthusiastically supported by the German delegation at Paris, together with the document, published last year in the *People,* with which the Social Democratic Reichstag delegation opened the late campaign—points to any conclusion, then the conclusion is that the Dresden Convention turned no new leaf, and

could turn none, but, *mutatis mutandis,* rehearsed a scene often periodically rehearsed before in the party's course—the scene of the revolutionary spirit of Socialism being conjured up by Bebel at periodically arising new departures, then melting away again, and the resumption of the practical course. Some essentially rotten branches of the brigade of "free thought" intellectuals may have been cracked in the Dresden storm and been sawed off to be cast away:—that has happened before. The vanities that prompted in some breasts the panting after the hollow honor of a vice-presidency, even if it had to be log-rolled for, may have been, probably were, cauterized:—even serious movements have a way of occasionally squelching trifles with a great display of strength, in order to pursue their prescribed path with all the freer hand. All this may be. But the principle, now christened "revisionism," which, as shown in the debates, had previously undergone a series of equally damaging christenings, and survived them all, and in the end asserted itself, is in the nature of things un-uprootable—so long as the feudal soil lasts. Conditions, still peculiar to Germany, have forced the Social Democracy to come down from the air and place itself upon the only field there was to take a stand on—the field of reform. On that field the contestants have a common ground. On common ground contestants can deal, and barter may there be a handmaid of progress —such as is possible.

Thus the fury of the Dresden debates, the paradox they presented, is explained. Unconsciously, one set of

the delegates, the Vollmar element, were in nervous apprehension lest the party be rhetorized from the ground that all agreed it had made stupendous progress on; unconsciously, another set, the Bebel element, were under a nervous strain lest the party's beloved Socialist halo be dimmed. *These were the issues,* and quite momentous they were. Upon them depends the downfall of the German Empire, that is, the completion of the bourgeois revolution for Germany. Under such apprehensions, mutually affecting the contestants, ultimate unanimity and good will were assured. Indeed, almost puerile were the measures taken toward that end. After a violent discussion had convulsed the party's press and public meetings, before the gathering of the congress, upon the issue of *accepting the office of vice-president of the Reichstag,* and after the original resolution on the subject, truthfully reflecting the sentiment of the preceding discussion, expressly disapproved the acceptance of such an office, a watered resolution was subsequently substituted, approving the acceptance of the office, but emphatically repudiating its accessories, of which the wearing of knee-breeches at court is one—a turn-about that gave the whole pre-congress violent discussion the aspect of having been all about gala knee-breeches only! Hence the mental placidity of the nominal minority amidst the intense earnestness of all. Hence the virtual unanimity at the final vote.

A candle having been burnt to St. Michael, his dragon could continue to be worshiped.

N.

REPORT OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF AUSTRALIA TO THE AMSTERDAM CONGRESS.

To the International Socialists, in Congress Assembled:

Comrades:—We, members of the Australian Socialist League, located in the city of Sidney, State of New South Wales, Australia, being unable on account of distance and lack of funds to send delegates to the Congress, forward by letter greetings to all organized Socialists in Congress met, and a brief history and statement of the Socialist Movement here as we see and know it since Congress last met.

The Australian Socialist League is the only political organization—with its party, the Socialist Labor Party—standing definitely for uncompromising Socialism, having within the last three years contested two federal and one state elections, and, at time of writing, preparing for a coming state election.

In 1901 the first elections under the federal constitution were held, and under the constitution the states were one electorate, each returning to the senate six senators, and it being mandatory for each voter to record a vote for six of the candidates or his vote would be informal. The league placed six candidates in the field with the following result: A. Thomson, 5,823; J.

O. Moroney, 4,257; H. E. Holland, 4,771; J. Neill, 5,952; Y. J. Monish, 3,109; T. Melling, 3,495.

The State of New South Wales was, until 1904, divided into 125 electorates, each electorate returning one member to its state parliament. The league contested five electorates with this result: J. Neill, 30; A. Thomson, 24; H. E. Holland, 33; J. Monish, 58; J. O. Moroney, 189.

In December of last year, 1903, the federal elections took place and the league placed three candidates in the field for the senate, the conditions being similar, the state one electorate, and mandatory on the part of the voter to record his or her vote for three of the candidates to render his or her vote formal.

But the first federal [parliament] had passed an electoral act which contained a penalizing clause compelling each candidate to deposit with his or her nomination paper a sum of £25 to be forfeited in the event of the candidate not polling one-fifth of the votes polled by the lowest successful candidate. This to us meant a fine of £75 for placing our candidates in the field to uphold Socialist principles.

The Socialist Labor Party's vote was: A. Thomson, 25,976; J. O. Moroney, 25,924; F. H. Drake, 17,870; and after making deductions it is safe to assert that fully 8,000 of the votes polled by our lowest candidate were those of convinced Socialists. The capitalist class nominees polled: First, 192,987; second, 191,170; third, 188,860; so that we forfeited our £75 deposit.

The Australian Socialist League owns and issues

weekly a four-page newspaper, the *People,* which is the only Socialist paper published in the Australian Commonwealth.

In the other Australian states there exist organizations more or less socialistic, under such names as International Socialist, Vanguard, Fellowship, and Social Democratic clubs. None of them take definite political action, being mere adherents of the existing parliamentary labor parties of the different states, who endeavor not to overthrow the capitalist system, but to make such system bearable, being destitute of any revolutionary aim.

In Australia, notwithstanding what newspaper men and others have written about the socialistic nature of the laws, there IS NO SOCIALISM. We are faced with exactly the same economic conditions as obtain in all capitalist countries. Thousands lack employment, and poverty with its attendant misery and degradation is always with us.

In most of the Australian states the railways, and in some the tramways, are owned and managed by the government on strictly commercial principles. In other directions the state has extended its functions and employs labor direct. But the worker remains in Australia, whether employed by the state government or the individual private employer, an exploited wage slave, as is his exploited fellow wage slave in other countries.

In conclusion, the appended manifesto sets out clearly our economic, industrial and political attitude. For years to come our primary work must be the mak-

ing of Socialists, and, isolated as we are, to some extent we must carry on that work in our own way. In other words, we must "develop the capacity to abolish Australian capitalism," aided by the experience of our comrades in other countries when that experience fits Australian industrial, economic and political conditions.

On behalf of the General Executive Committee,

JAMES O. MORONEY,
General Secretary.

May 14, 1904.

Manifesto of the Australian Socialist League.

To the mental and manual working class and all other honest citizens of the Australian Commonwealth, we Socialists ask you to organize with us in the Australian Socialist League, because we are face to face with conditions that require the united action of our class at the ballot box. It is to point out those conditions that we have prepared this manifesto, and we hope that every member of the working class into whose hands it may fall will read it carefully. For it is only by careful reading and close investigation that we (the working class) can learn the cause of our industrial and economic enslavement and how to free ourselves.

The present form of society rests on [private] ownership of the land and the tools of production.

The owners of most of the land and the tools of production constitute what is economically known as

the capitalist class. Hence the use of the term: the capitalist form of society.

Ownership divides society in the Australian Commonwealth as in all capitalistic countries into two distinct classes.

One is the class of employers, and the other is the class of wage workers.

The employers are the capitalist class; and the wage workers are the working class.

While the working class, by their labor, produce today—as in the past—the wealth that sustains society, they lack economic and industrial security, suffer from overwork, enforced idleness, and their attendant miseries, all of which are due to the present capitalist form of society.

The capitalist class, through the ownership of most of the land and the tools of production—which are necessary for the production of food, clothing, shelter and fuel—hold the working class in complete economic and industrial subjection, and thus live on the labor of the working class.

The working class in order to secure food, clothing, shelter and fuel, must sell their labor power to the owning capitalist class—that is to say, they must work for the capitalist class. The working class do all the useful work of society, they are the producers of all the wealth of the world, while the capitalist class are the exploiters who live on the wealth produced by the working class.

As the capitalist class live out of the product of the working class, the interest of the working class is dia-

metrically opposed to the interests of the capitalist class. The capitalist class—owning as they do most of the land and the tools of production—employ the working class, buy their labor power, and return to them in the form of wages only part of the wealth they have produced. The rest of the wealth produced by the working class the capitalist class keep; it constitutes their profit—i.e., rent, interest and dividends.

Thus the working class produce their own wages as well as the profits of the capitalist class. In other words, the working class work a part only of each day to produce their wages, and the rest of the day to produce surplus (profits) for the owning capitalist class.

The interest of the capitalist class is to get all the surplus (profits) possible out of the labor of the working class. The interest of the working class is to get the full product of their labor.

Hence there is a struggle between these two classes. This struggle is called the "class struggle." It is a struggle between the owning capitalist class—which must continue to exploit the working class in order to live—and the non-owning working class, who in order to live must work for the owners of the land and the tools of production. To win economic freedom the non-owning working class must force this struggle into the political field and use their political power (the ballot) to abolish capitalist class ownership, and thus revolutionize in the interests of the working class the entire structure of industrial society.

The capitalist class who own most of the land and

the tools of production, own the government and govern the working class, not for the well-being of the working class but for the well-being and profit of the capitalist class.

It is only by using their political power that the capitalist class make their exploitation of the working class legal and the oppression of their system constitutional. And it is only by using their political power that the working class can make their own exploitation illegal and their own oppression unconstitutional. It is only by the use of their political power that the working class can abolish capitalist class rule and privilege, and establish a planful form of society based on the collective ownership of all the land and the tools of production, in which equal industrial rights shall be the share of all.

There exist between the capitalist class and the working class a number of small farmers, small manufacturers, small storekeepers, and self-employed workers, who together constitute what is called the "middle class;" all of whom do business on a small scale, generally with out-of-date machinery, or no machinery, and who are therefore unable to compete with the capitalist class whose gigantic factories, farms and shops are equipped with the best labor-and-wage-saving machinery, which lowers the cost of their production and thus forces the small middle class outside the margin of profit. The capitalist class system of concentration in company, syndicate, combine and trust absorbs a few of the small middle class, but thrusts by far the greater part of them into the ranks of the wage working class,

there to intensify the existing struggle. As a class, the middle class are being annihilated by the evolution of the capitalist system.

We Socialists, organized in the Australian Socialist League, declare that to the working class belongs the future. Organized in the political party of the league —the Socialist Labor Party—the working class (and all other honest persons in the commonwealth) can, through the ballot box, abolish the capitalist system of ownership with its accompanying class rule and class oppression, and establish in its place Socialism—an Industrial Democracy—wherein all the land and the tools of production shall be the collective property of the whole people, to be operated by the whole people for the production of commodities for use and not for profit. We ask the working class of the Australian Commonwealth to organize with us and the Socialist forces of the world to end the domination of private ownership—with its poverty-breeding system of planless production—and substitute in its place the Socialist Cooperative Commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his or her faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

The following is the Australian Socialist Labor Party's full ticket for the senate:

Drake, F. H.; Moroney, J. O.; Thomson, A.

If you believe in Socialism vote the full ticket.

Presented to the International Socialist Congress

of Amsterdam, August 14, 1904, by the delegate of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America, with credentials from the Australian Socialist League empowering him to act in its behalf.

DANIEL DE LEON,
Delegate of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America.

O.

REPORT OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN TO THE AMSTERDAM CONGRESS.

To the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam: Greeting:—

There is little wonder that the Continental Socialist should view with perplexity the developments in British politics of the present day. To the British worker himself the situation is full of difficulty and uncertainty. It is perfectly true that the last few years have seen the growth and steady increase of class sentiment among the workers, of dissatisfaction with their erstwhile leaders and guides in politics. The feeling that labor must stand alone and work out its own salvation is gaining in intensity day by day. Such a condition of affairs is undoubtedly of advantage to the Socialist Labor Party, and where we can reach the minds of the workers who

are passing through this phase of thought, we are generally successful in changing their crude and untutored discontent into intelligent and educated revolutionary thought and action. But many are the traps and sidetracks that lie between the awakened British worker and Socialism. The worker is dazzled by a bewildering variety of professed friends. Among the "orthodox" political parties, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the former radical republican, at present the real head and guide of the Conservative party, professes great solicitude for the laboring classes, and calls upon them to improve their lot by supporting his tariff scheme. In the Liberal camp, Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman calls on the toilers to reject the schemes of the Conservatives and support the existing system of free trade, while admitting that, under this system, 12,000,000 of the working class live on the verge of starvation. In industrial constituencies, where the influence of capitalist Liberalism is waning, the party organizers seek to exploit the nascent class sentiment of the workers, by introducing chosen lackeys who call themselves "Liberal Labor" members of Parliament. Latest of all we have the establishment of a Conservative Labor party and the selection of labor apostles to indoctrinate the proletariat with Mr. Chamberlain's latest nostrum.

The Socialist Labor Party and Political Trade Unionism.

Much of the present ferment in the labor world has been caused by recent decisions in the highest courts of

justice, which have rendered the trade unions bankrupt by making their funds liable for all financial losses caused by strikes. The British trade union is based on the false assumption (often explicitly stated in their constitutions) that the interests of capitalists and workers are identical. This being so, they have (even during the Chartist agitation) opposed all independent working class political action. The efforts of the trade union leaders in inducing the rank and file to adhere to this policy have, in many cases, been rewarded by seats in Parliament as "Liberal Labor" members. "Labor" members of Parliament defended Asquith, the Liberal Home Secretary, after he had sent down troops to shoot the striking miners at Featherstone, and "labor leaders" helped him at the next parliamentary contest to delude the Fifeshire miners into re-electing him to power. The legal decisions to which we have referred have somewhat altered circumstances. When the funds are menaced, the salaries of the trade union leaders are exposed to danger. The labor leaders saw no need for, and strongly opposed political action for working class interests even in face of Featherstone massacres. Now, however, when their salaries are menaced, they have formed a political organization, called the Labor Representation Committee, supported and financed by the trade unions, to which the Independent Labor party is affiliated. If this were a bona fide labor party, however crude; if it even contained such a party in the germ, it would be the duty of all honest Socialists to give it the utmost support. Such, however, is not the case. The

members, leaders and parliamentary representatives are hopelessly at variance in their views, containing among their number Liberals, Conservatives, Single Taxers, tame Socialists and individualists. Even on labor politics they are divided. Some support child labor in factories, others oppose it. Some advocate the eight hour bill, others do not. Some profess belief in a sort of watered down Socialism; others regard Socialism as anathema, etc., etc. The single point on which this party is united is the necessity to safeguard the funds of the trade unions. As Mr. John Burns, a Labor member of Parliament, said: "We simply want the status quo ante Farwell"—that is, the conditions existing before Justice Farwell gave his decision against the unions. Let the officials' salaries be safe and all else, including Featherstone massacres, can be tolerated. Another of their leaders, who recently sold out to the radicals, said, "We want to get ourselves firmly planted in the House of Commons and I believe we are not particular about the way in which we do it." In other words, the trade union leader looks upon his office as an institution existing in and bound up with capitalist society, and in true bourgeois fashion claims parliamentary representation, not to emancipate the workers, but to defend his own special interests. So innocuous is this movement to capitalism, that during the last week or two, while a candidate of this organization has been offering himself for the suffrages of the workers of Lanarkshire, the capitalists have actually, in certain cases, admitted him into their factories and built plat-

forms from which he might address the workers and solicit their votes.

This party has sprung up like a mushroom in a night, and has excited the jealousy of a section of the radicals, who, both through their press and their orators, are playing off against it a small quasi-Socialist body called the Socialist Democratic Federation, an organization which strives to hide its pronounced revisionist tendencies behind a mask of high-sounding Marxian phraseology. Led and directed mainly by middle class men who have never divested themselves of bourgeois habits of thought, it is characterized by distrust of and contempt for the working class, a state of mind which naturally has given rise to opportunism and trimming. At one election its policy is to support Tories, at another to support Liberals, still later to oppose imperialist capitalists and support anti-war capitalists. Its whole history is full of instances of intrigues with capitalist parties, and of the acceptance of capitalist bribes. It is, in short, the party of English revisionism.

The Socialist Labor Party came into existence as a protest against the treachery and incompetence of the class-unconscious political and economic leaders of the working class, to take up the work previously neglected by the *soi-disant* "Socialist" parties, of fighting boldly, not only the old capitalist parties, but also the various pseudo-"labor" movements which are sidetracking the workers in the interests of capitalism. We maintain that a Socialist party which does not possess complete

confidence in itself and in its power to lead the working class to emancipation, is a misnomer. We believe in the political and economic organization of the workers, but we also contend that this organization is useless unless it is based upon intelligent and classconscious lines, and takes the shape of an uncompromising revolutionary Socialist political party and of federated Socialist trade unions which will work in harmony with the political forces of labor. With these ends before us the Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain was founded about a year ago. It has met with success which has surpassed our highest expectations. Our official organ, the *Socialist,* is increasing in circulation with every issue, and has been enlarged to more than double its former size. At the present day our organization is in evidence in all the industrial and populous centers of England and Scotland: London, Southampton, Manchester, Birmingham, Bournemouth, Wimbledon, Gravesend, Reading, Newcastle, Whitehaven, Middleborough, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Greenock, North Berwick, Leith, Falkirk, Dundee, Aberdeen, Kirkcaldy, etc. Last year, although the party had only been a few months in existence, we nominated candidates for the municipal elections in five constituencies, and, in spite of disadvantageous circumstances, we met with a most gratifying measure of support from the working class. At the next municipal elections we shall take action on a much larger scale, and when the parliamentary election comes around the Socialist Labor Party will undoubtedly give a good account of itself. Every prospect

promises a glorious future to the only party in Britain that keeps to the narrow path of revolutionary Socialism. As the efficiency of the class-unconscious pure and simple trade unions decreases, and as the corruption of the leaders increases, the thinking working class are becoming disillusioned, and are joining our ranks in ever greater numbers. Having as its single object the political supremacy of labor, the expropriation of the capitalist class and the establishment of the Socialist Republic, the Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain marches steadily on to that goal, turning aside neither for the sops of revisionism nor the bribes of corruptionists.

In the name of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain,

NEIL MACLEAN,
National Secretary.

Glasgow, August 4, 1904.

Presented to the International Socialist Congress by Thomas Drummond, Delegate of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party.

P.

REPORT FROM LILLE, FRANCE.

Lille, France, August 9, 1904.—The Amsterdam International Congress is not yet officially opened. That

will happen on the 14th instant. But the precursor thereto is now under way in this city. It is this year's national congress of the "Parti Socialiste de France"—the Socialist party of France, which is the name adopted by the bona fide Socialist groups of France since the Millerandist confusionists forced these groups to consolidate. The congress, or convention, has important questions in hand, not the least of which is the demand that is to be made at Amsterdam on the fatal Kautsky resolution of four years ago. The convention will open this morning. Last evening a magnificent demonstration greeted the occasion.

A monster procession of workingmen of this city, preceded by a band and torches, met the assembled delegates before the railway station, and led them to the spacious hall of the workingmen's headquarters (Hotel des Syndicats). Invited by Paul Lafargue to assist at the sessions of the convention, I came down from Antwerp and marched beside Lafargue in the procession. The cheers of the multitude that lined the line of march at the sight of their delegates told volumes in favor of the "narrow" and "impossiblist" propaganda, agitation and organization of the P. S. de F. It was a truly inspiring sight. Needless to say, both the processionists and the masses along the route sang continuously; it is the French style. The principal songs were "L'Internationale" and endless varieties of the "Carmagnole." The procession wended its way, on purpose I suspect, by the houses of leading party members and objectionable capitalists. Need I add that

deafening were the cheers with which the former were greeted, and the howls and cat calls bestowed upon the latter? I noticed that the motormen on the tramways along the line joined in these manifestations.

The meeting hall at the workingmen's headquarters is arranged like a theater with two tiers of balconies. The delegates had seats on the platform. The meeting was opened with song, in which the whole closely packed mass in the audience joined.

The chairman, Henri Ghesquiere, opened the meeting with a review of the situation in France, and then introduced in succession the following speakers:

Delory, former Socialist mayor of Lille, and now member of the Chamber of Deputies; Dubreuilh, the national secretary of the party; Greffier, delegate from Isere; Walter, delegate from St. Louis; Cachin, delegate from Gironde; Mme. Sorgue, delegate from Avignon; Piger, delegate from Loire; Groussier, of Paris, former deputy; Lafoul, delegate from Lorraine; Daniel De Leon, delegate to the International Congress of Amsterdam from the Socialist Labor Party of America; Rubanovitch, delegate to the International Congress of Amsterdam from the Revolutionist party of Russia; Bouveri, deputy of Montceau; Bracke, secretary of the exterior of the party; Roussel, present mayor of Ivry; De la Porte, present deputy of Sevres; Dryfus, delegate of Belfort; Paul Lafargue, of Paris; Faure, of Dordogne; Myrhens, of Haute Vienne; Constans, present deputy for Allier; Jules Guesde, delegate of Paris.

The delegates were introduced in the order given and with a few fitting words. The speeches were generally short. So was mine. I found it advisable to speak in French, and I said:

"Mr. President and you, revolutionary Socialist proletariat of the north of France—

"On my way to the International Congress of Amsterdam as the delegate of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America, I received from the illustrious Paul Lafargue an invitation to assist at your national convention, the convention of the Parti Socialiste de France, here in Lille. I have come. Had my party in America known of this opportunity, I know it would have instructed me to greet you in its name. I know I act agreeable to its wishes, in greeting you, the revolutionary Socialists of France, as now I do; and in the name of the Socialist Labor Party to assure you that, when the hour shall have struck, America will do her duty. Perchance, on that day, this generation may witness the spectacle witnessed by the generation of 1776 —France side by side with America. In 1776, the oncoming capitalist revolution forced the hand of the then feudal government of France, compelling it to marshal itself with America when America rang the tocsin for the downfall of feudalism. I, for one, among my comrades in America, cast my eyes in Europe upon revolutionist France. Perchance, when the American revolutionary generation of today will, in its turn, ring the tocsin for the downfall of capitalism, this generation will see the spectacle of revolutionary France, the rev-

olutionary Socialist proletariat of France, rising simultaneously beside us.

"But I have not come to Lille to speak. I have come to see and to hear. And when I return to America I shall be able to report to my party the French shading of that central principle upon which the Parti Socialiste de France and the Socialist Labor Party of America are founded, labor, struggle, and are bound to triumph."

It would take too long to sum up the short and the long speeches of the delegates giving interesting though local accounts of the movement. Two of these speeches —those of Lafargue and of Guesde—I think it well to sum up.

After having described the recent setback received by the Parti Socialiste de France, Lafargue said in substance:

"Now look at the Social Democratic party of Germany. For the last fifteen years it has steadily grown in votes. How is that? The reason is that while the German party is a Socialist party, yet it is especially a 'party of opposition.' Within that party are found all the reform aspirations of the German Empire. There is no other party for them to go to. Consequently all the intelligence of Germany is in that party. It is otherwise in France. The reform bourgeois aspirations here have their parties. We are, consequently, not a party of 'opposition,' but a party of 'revolution.' With such a party ups and downs are inevitable. But every seeming defeat is a signal for renewed efforts; while every

single victory of our enemies wounds them in their vitals."

Guesde, who closed the meeting, said in substance:

"There is but one Socialism. Behind it alone is organized and can be organized the proletariat. Socialism knows no compromise. Whoever deals with the enemy betrays the workingman. In this struggle we are hit hard, it is true. But thus we, who were iron, now have become steel. An International Congress is about to be held. We shall see whether elsewhere also such progress has been made, whether the music of the phrase has at last been silenced by experience. I hope that at Amsterdam a new page will be turned, that none but revolutionary Socialism will be recognized."

Guesde's speech was punctuated with an applause that was of unmistakable tone.

In connection with his utterances I should also mention the speech of Marcel Cachin, the delegate from Gironde. He climaxed his arguments with the expression of the hope that at Amsterdam all the fusionists and confusionists will be fired out, and the international movement cleanse itself, the same as the Parti Socialiste de France did.

Nevertheless, from several other delegates I learn that there is little hope of a straight stand being taken at Amsterdam. The reason they give for this is that neither Austria, nor part of Italy, nor Holland, nor Belgium would be disposed to go so far. A majority of the Congress of Amsterdam, it is claimed, will do

everything to avoid a rupture. Some few admit that eventually a rupture is bound to take place.

Last night's demonstration looked essentially like an S. L. P. demonstration.

DANIEL DE LEON.

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Policy of Non-violence

"We do not want to use force. We will attempt to by pass its use. We merely inten to beat you capitalists at your own game, if yo game is elections. However, be careful what game you choose. Be careful that you do not choose the use of force." conf. 3rd Law of Moti